THE TRUTH ABOUT TAXES . . . . P. 6

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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VOL. 9, No. 26 NEW YORK, N. Y., APRIL 15, 1957

THE CHRISTMAS ISLAND STORY

All Japan united against bomb test; world furor grows

By Elmer Bendiner

IN JAPAN last week coat lapels blossomed with ribbons and badges that marked no new springtime fashion but a grim message of protest against the imminent testing of a British hydrogen bomb over Christmas Island.

The protest, universal throughout the nation, crossed political, class, religious and social lines, from the Mitsui Shipping Co. to trade unions. At the peace monument in Hiroshima 12 men and women were on a day-and-night vigil. They included a scientist and a victim of the original atomic blast. One of them, a Buddhist priest, began a hunger strike which, he said, would end only when the protest movement echoed around the world.

The Japanese Council Against A- and H-bombs planned a crusade and an "international protest fleet." The plan called for the chartering of either a 1,000-ton liner or two 500-ton fishing vessels that would not only cruise in the fishing waters marked for contamination by the bomb but rally people in Pacific ports from Hawaii to Australia.

THE PROTEST FLEET: If the liner is obtained there will be room for 80 crusaders against catastrophe. Of these 50 are to be Japanese, the rest from other countries. If the two fishing vessels are used there will be room for only 50 demonstrators aboard, of whom 30 are to be Japanese. Tokyo reports said that more than the needed number of volunteers had already applied from Japan and many from elsewhere.

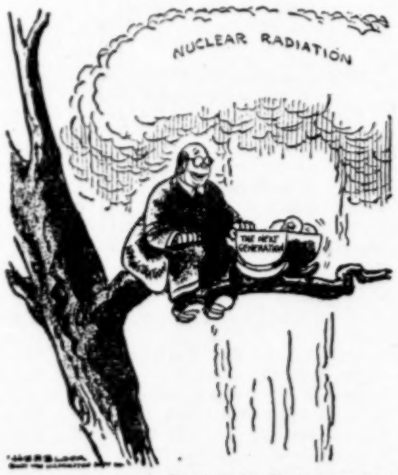
The protest fleet is to leave Japan early in May and head for Hawaii where it was hoped to stage a big protest meeting by the month's end. Then the ships would sail for the forbidden Christmas Island waters, registering their protest by radio from the bombing scene. By mid-June the demonstrators are to be in Sydney, Australia, for a protest rally, then go to Jakarta in July. Other stops are tentatively scheduled for Saigon and Hanoy. The ships would be back in Japan by the end of July.

In Japan itself May 20 was designated as a day of national protest, with demonstrations planned near the British Embassy in Tokyo. The Western press carried little news of the anger and fear that has brought together 90 million Japanese in almost unprecedented unity.

MISSION TO LONDON: The Japanese government offered no official sanction to the "protest fleet," but Prime Minister Kishi backed up repeated diplomatic protests by sending as his personal envoys to London the president of Japan's Christian Rikkyo University, Prof. Masatoshi Samuel Matushita, and his wife.

The GUARDIAN's Cedric Belfrage wrote from London that Prime Minister Macmillan granted the Matushitas and two other members of their mission half an

(Continued on Page 4)



Herblock in Washington Post

**"Rock-a-bye baby, in the tree top
Let's make believe the fallout will stop"**

The Evening Star
...voy Accused as Red Kills Self
Canadian Diplomat in Egypt Subject of Senate Report
Britain Cuts Defense, Dropping Draft by 1960

THE INQUISITION WAS UNMOVED

Robert Morris, counsel for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, holds a newspaper telling of the death of Herbert Norman.

ANOTHER SMEAR, ANOTHER LIFE

Why Ambassador Norman killed himself in Cairo

WHEN E. HERBERT NORMAN, Canadian ambassador to Egypt, last week plunged from the roof of a nine-story apartment house in Cairo, he became another in the lengthening list of those whose deaths have been laid at the door of witch-hunting U.S. Congressional committees.

Norman, a scholar, linguist and diplomat, was the acting head of the Canadian delegation to UN in the spring of 1951 and had been named as adviser to his country's delegation at the Japanese peace treaty conference in San Francisco when the witch-hunters picked up his trail. Shortly before the conference opened Robert Morris, counsel for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, announced that a witness had said Norman was a member of "a Communist Party student group in Cape Cod in 1939."

The Canadian government protested strongly and stuck by Norman. He was "cleared," but suffered from the smear. Last month the committee got back to Norman—even though he was serving his government in Egypt and had no apparent connection with U.S. legislation or security.

"CONTEMPT THEY DESERVE": On March 15 Canada's Secy. of State for External Affairs Lester B. Pearson announced that he had protested strongly against further publication by the subcommittee of charges against Norman. These, he told the House of Commons, should be "treated with the contempt they deserve." The U.S. State Dept. said it had complete confidence in Canadian diplomats. On March 28 the committee, bulldogging its victim, made public the proceedings of two closed hearings on March 12 and 21 which counsel Morris summed up this way:

"We have quite a few security reports

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DISARMAMENT PARLEY SENDS OUT RAY OF HOPE, BUT . . .

U. S. playing with fire in Korea and Vietnam

IN ITS RECENT foreign policy actions, Washington seemed to be speaking from both sides of its mouth. In Asia, the Eisenhower administration has been acting as if war is inevitable; at the London disarmament conference, it seemed to display a hopeful attitude towards peace.

According to **The Nation** (4/6), Ngo Dinh Nhu, brother of South Vietnam's Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, has been quietly visiting Washington, conferring with Secy. of State Dulles and his brother, Central Intelligence Agency chief Allen Dulles, Foreign Aid Chief John Hollister and the Pentagon brass. The subject: increased U.S. military and economic assistance.

It was reported that South Vietnam "may send observers to SEATO's future military maneuvers, especially to those in proximity of Indo-China." This would be in violation of the Geneva Indo-China truce agreement forbidding military alliances and arms build-up in both North and South Vietnam.

RHEE HAS PLANS: Nhu was also reported anxious to obtain American capital equipment to build paper-mills and other factories in South Vietnam and to increase its textile output. In this he was foredoomed to disappointment, however, since U.S. authorities "insist that American consumer goods ought to find a significant place in the U.S. aid program." In other words: We give you guns; you give us markets.

In South Korea Syngman Rhee has

(Continued on Page 9)

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9.

THE MAIL BAG

Suppose

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Suppose the total of 733 so-called subversive organizations and publications listed by the Un-American Committee ceased to exist altogether:

What would the committee do? Would it also die? Or would it rule as representative of the Hitler ideology in the U. S.? Is there any secret that this committee's, as well as other similar committees' real objective is to create, plot and scheme fascism in this country? **N. E.**

Mankind's choice

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

The H-Bomb is to destroy
Christmas,
Blow Christmas utterly from
the face of earth.

Christmas is peace—the Bomb
will destroy Christmas.
Christmas is love of mankind
—the Bomb will destroy
Christmas.
Christmas is the life of the
Infant in the manger—
the Bomb will destroy
Christmas.

Will you have the Bomb? Or
will you have Christmas?
Choose, World.
CHOOSE!

Florence H. Luscomb

Christmas card

GLEN ELLEN, CALIF.

Heartiest congratulations on Bendiner's Christmas Island story in the March 25 issue. It is an historic scoop and the very best sort of journalism.

Albert E. Kahn

Dr. J. W. Parker

COSTA MESA, CALIF.

Dr. J. W. Parker, editor and publisher of **Simplified Economics**, a monthly journal of liberal thought, died last month in Kansas City, Mo.

Ever since he read the **Appeal to Reason**, Socialist weekly, 50 years ago, Dr. Parker had been an uncompromising socialist. Agitating for the objective of his dreams and hopes has been his obsession for the last 25 years. Seventeen years ago he established **Simplified Economics** as an independent monthly journal. For 15 years I have been associated with him in writing the magazine. Many readers of your publication were also readers of **Simplified Economics**. They will be saddened, as I have been, at his passing. **George H. Shoaf**

Help Koinonia

STONE MOUNTAIN, GA.

Congratulations on your reporting of the situation at Koinonia Farm at Americus, Ga.

As the noose tightens, Koinonia farmers find all their normal retail outlets closed to them. They are desperately in need of cash immediately. People could help directly by ordering their produce. It might be worth while to suggest that people pool orders, thereby making the individual price less and giving Koinonia a larger order.

Eleanor W. Brooks

Due to destruction of Koinonia Farm's meat curing facilities, you can't presently order their delicious hams, sausage, smoked turkeys and chickens, but pecans and peanuts are plentiful. Prices: raw, shelled peanuts, $2.75 for a 5-lb. sack, $4.50 for 10 lbs., 50 lbs. for $20; papershell pecans, $2.75 for a 5-lb. sack, $5 for 10 lbs., 50 lbs. for $22.50. Smaller pecans are $2 for 5 lbs., $16.50 for 50 lbs. Postpaid east of the Rockies. —Ed.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

MONTREAL, Quebec, Jan. 25. (UP)—The Quebec Liquor Commission will continue to ban the sale of vodka in this province because of its Communist flavor, a spokesman said today.

Phila. **Inquirer**, Jan. 26

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: L. Sorokin, Philadelphia, Pa.

Labor the target

SEATTLE WASH.

The Teamsters' Dave Beck has repeatedly pointed out that government committees build their cases at the expense of the defendant and in complete disregard for laws governing presentation of evidence and rebuttal. Anyone who goes before one of these committees and insists on a fair hearing and demands rights under the Constitution by utilizing the various Constitutional Amendments (especially the 5th) is shouted down and the inference is built up that anyone who invokes the 5th Amendment is an enemy of the State and a subversive

In this case, Beck, a notorious "red"-hater, is getting the same tarbrush treatment that every hard working "red" has received before him (and that he himself dealt out to the U. of Wash. profs six years ago). But through it all, he is now calling attention to the fact that the Constitution does exist and is the basic law of the land.

It is my opinion that these hearings will be used against all labor either to amend the Taft-Hartley Law or, more to the point, pass a national "right-to-work" law. Your paper should alert the forces of labor to the true function of this hearing.

It is common knowledge here locally that there has been definite collusion between the employers and Beck, but lots of other unions have had some queer arrangements with employers and it's quite apparent that they feel the less attention directed towards themselves the better. In other words, let the Teamsters be the goat.

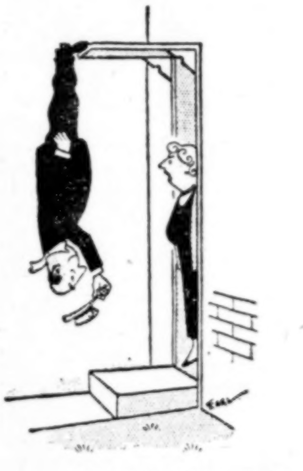
Investigative committees have used the last six years to bludgeon and disperse "reds" and progressives. It is now the turn of organized labor, after the well-known Hitler pattern. Evidence before the committee (of photostatic copies of six-year old checks) shows that while Beck was giving the "reds" a kick in the teeth at the U. of Wash., at the same time the inquisitors were beginning to dig Beck's grave!

Beck is just the first victim on the list. The Building Trades are next. And today, the sanctimonious Reuther is mentioned as one who should not be let "escape." The list will grow fat and long. The pious statements of McDonald of the Steelworkers that his union "lives in a goldfish bowl" won't save the Steelworkers when repressive legislation is passed against labor.

The pattern is all clear. The "reds" are liquidated and dispersed. The unions, as such, are now being "taken on" wholesale. It can happen here, and since we are now this far down the road, fascism is not too far away. The days left in which to make a stand are getting fewer.

The GUARDIAN can do a great service to the American working class if it will only raise its voice loud and long and be there "fustest with the mostest" ammunition—as it always has.

Unionist



Reynolds News, London

"You've been drinking again!"

Mother & child

KANSAS CITY, MO.

The book **Seeds from the East** tells of the adoption by the author, Harry Holt of Creswell, Ore., and his wife of eight Korean children to live with their own six. The author urges support of bills in Congress sponsored by Sens. Morse and Neuberger, Rep. Porter and others authorizing the admission as war orphans of up to 10,000 Korean children fathered by U.S. servicemen.

Why should not these children and their mothers be admitted together? Why should not the servicemen fathers wed the mothers and set up families here where possible? The Veterans Administration, Army, Navy and other agencies could combine to provide support for these mothers and children.

Think hard about these "war orphans" bills before you give them your support.

Anna J. Burkhardt

Hats in the ring

NEW YORK, N. Y.

A united socialist electoral campaign in New York City could win a significant number of votes in this year's municipal elections.

All sensible socialists should be willing to give their full support to a municipal campaign led by Norman Thomas or A.J. Muste for Mayor.

Can we not unify on a basic minimum socialist program for one election, and sample the extent of socialist support in New York City? **Hal Koppersmith**

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the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 9, No. 26 401 April 15, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

The un-Americans

TWO SPRING SHOOTS that deserve to be nurtured have pushed their way up through our good earth this season.

● Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) rose in Congress March 29 for a one-minute speech criticising the House Committee on Un-American Activities for its conduct and that of its counsel during its cross-country tour last November-December. He cited particularly and read into the **Congressional Record** the resolution of the California State Bar Assn. condemning the Committee's tactics and defending the right of all to counsel. Then he said, on his own:

"The character of these charges, which relate to the mistreatment and ridiculing of the attorneys for witnesses present, is so grave that I am sincerely considering introducing a Resolution to Amend the Rules of the House to transfer the functions of the Committee on Un-American Activities to the Committee on the Judiciary."

In plain, non-Congressional lingo, such a Resolution if adopted would in affect abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. The argument alone over such a Resolution would rock the Capitol dome. We think Rep. Roosevelt should be urged to obey that impulse, and YOUR Congressman urged to back him up.

● The Methodist Federation for Social Action, 50-year-old organization of Methodist clergymen, has voted to petition both the Senate and House for "redress of grievances" as provided in the First Amendment because it has been listed in two Congressional publications among "Organizations Cited as Communist or Communist-Front by Federal Authorities."

The petition asks for special committees of both the Senate and House to investigate the charges and "take such punitive or restrictive action as the circumstances may be shown to warrant."

THE MFSA THUS RENEWS a fight begun a year ago when it sought to prevent joint publication by the House and Senate of the Eastland Committee's blacklist report "Handbook for Americans," which said of the MFSA: "With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Federation . . ."

The Federation had a pretty good prima facie case in that it was founded in 1907, at least a decade before the Communist Party. It obtained a restraining order which Congress ignored and which was quickly vacated by a 2-1 decision of the Washington, D.C., Court of Appeals. The dissent, by Judge Robert N. Wilkin, said in part: "In our system it is the peculiar and very heavy responsibility of courts to restrain unconstitutional activity by other departments."

The MFSA didn't have the money last year to carry the case to the Supreme Court but the fight as far as it was carried produced the foregoing unprecedented opinion by a Federal judge, that blacklisting by legislative bodies is unconstitutional, warranting restraint.

Since the 1956 fight, the Senate Committee's canard has been incorporated in the 1957 "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" of the House Un-American Activities Committee (which also included the GUARDIAN among a total of 733 blacklisted outfits).

THE DECISION TO PETITION for redress of grievances was made April 3 by the MFSA executive committee meeting in Hartford, Conn. The petition, prepared by attorney Royal Wilbur France, calls the published listing an "unlawful Bill of Attainder" and accuses the offending Committees of having unlawfully stepped out of their legislative roles to engage "in a judicial function, without pretense of due process." The petition also points out that power to list so-called subversive organizations was specifically denied when Congress set up its first Un-American Activities Committee "and has never, at any time since, been granted."

A similar request of Congress is being made by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, for investigation of the invasion of individual civil liberties by Congressional committees.

Further information may be obtained from the organizations themselves: Methodist Federation for Social Action, P.O. Box 327, Gresham, Ore.; Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Av., New York 1, N.Y.

Your Congressman and Senators should be advised of the filing of these petitions and urged to support them. **THE GUARDIAN**

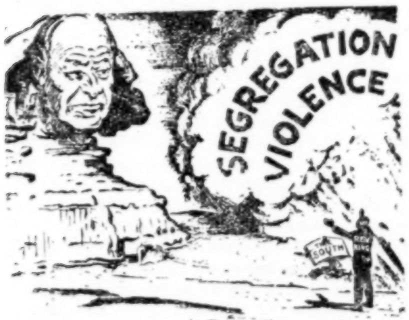
THE ALCORN STORY

Leaders of boycott barred by college; NAACP aids them

ALCORN (MISS.) NEGRO Agricultural and Mechanical College students last month used the boycott to force history professor Clennon King to resign. At last reports he was still on the faculty but had refused to return to the campus. He said he feared for his life; the students called this nonsense.

The students were enraged at his series of articles in the anti-Negro Jackson (Miss.) **State Times**, in which he called the NAACP "the Natl. Assn. for the Agitation of Colored People" and said it was dominated by labor unions, socialists, "certain Quakers," members of the B'nai B'rith, the Anti-Defamation League, the Civil Liberties Union and "disguised communists." One sign picketing students carried read: "What Alabama's L. King is trying to build up, Mississippi's C. King is trying to tear down." L. King is Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn. and leader of the successful anti-jimcrow bus movement.

The all-white State Board of Control, which runs the college, disagreed with the students and with Pres. J. R. Otis, who supported them. Gov. Coleman, State Atty. Gen. Patterson and the **State Times** editors supported Prof. King. On Friday, March 8, the board ordered all students to return to classes by Monday or consider themselves expelled. Alcorn, as a land-grant college, is under state supervision.



Pittsburgh Courier

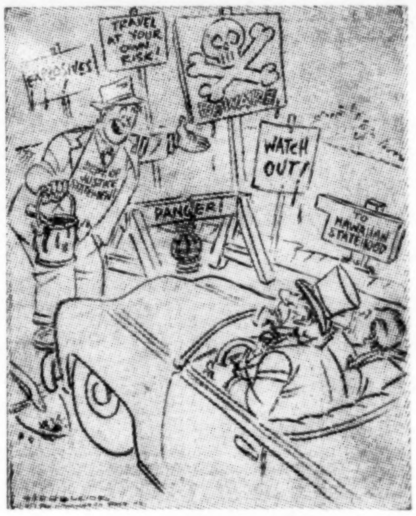
Speak, Mr. President, speak

DESERTED CAMPUS: Dr. Otis read the ultimatum to more than 500 silent young men and women in the college chapel. They had long been dissatisfied with the board's anti-integration stand and had planned a demonstration for early April. They rose en masse as the president finished, sang "The Alcorn Ode" and marched to their dormitories. The 300-acre campus was deserted by Friday night. The local radio station broadcast the substance of King's articles. The White Citizens Council's official organ carried a letter King said he wrote for "another" publication.

The Baltimore **Afro-American** (4/6) said Prof. King admitted receiving "only $32.50 for the eight articles" which caused the revolt.

With the governor the board worked out a resolution expelling all students still out on the following Monday and dismissing Dr. Otis.

NAACP ASSISTANCE: Fifty students, off campus several days for practice teaching, returned on Saturday. The board repeated on Sunday—in somewhat softer tones—its willingness to readmit all students who returned the next day. More than 100 came back By the end of March, 300 of the 585 were back. Some, including 25-year-old student council president Ernest McEwen, were rejected by Dr. John Dewey Boyd, new Negro head of Alcorn. Dr. Boyd said McEwen was "not representative of the students who elected him." The rest of those who stayed away were apparently gone for good. Dr. Boyd told the Negro press that he was "not interested in anything outside of Mississippi."


EXPLOSIVES
TRAVEL AT YOUR OWN RISK!
WATCH OUT!
DANGER!
TO HAWAIIAN STATEHOOD

Herblock in Washington Post

"I haven't said 'stop'."

This was interpreted to mean that he would shun the NAACP and the integration issue.

The NAACP announced last week that McEwen and four students who led the revolt with him would receive help in continuing their education at Central State College, Xenia, O., and Virginia Union University, Richmond, without loss of time or academic credits.

The Regional Council of Negro Leadership told **AP** that four expelled students had begun a tour of Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis and New York "on behalf of about 12" refused reentry at Alcorn.

SALUTE: The **Carolina Times**, Durham, N.C. (3/16), in an editorial "salute" to the Alcorn rebels, said that "whether reactionary whites and 'Uncle Tom' Negroes like it or not" the NAACP is "loved, respected and supported" even in Mississippi, especially by the younger generation. The editorial added:

"Among many Negro state colleges are to be found instructors who have so far removed themselves from the society of their people, by limiting themselves to the confines of the college campus, that they are downright ignorant of the attitudes, aspirations and sentiments of the Negro masses . . . Dr. King has no doubt learned the hard way that you cannot dwell in an ivory tower and at the same time advise people who are living on the ground."

SACB RULING APPEALED

Security act challenged by Calif. Labor School

Special to the GUARDIAN

SAN FRANCISCO

THE CALIFORNIA LABOR School last week was preparing a fight against a recommendation that the Subversive Activities Control Board list it as "directed, dominated and controlled by the Communist Party."

The recommendation was made by SACB member Francis Cherry based on hearings conducted in San Francisco a year ago. Holland Roberts, director of the School, called the decision "a blow against academic freedom"

LAW CHALLENGED: The school will appeal to the SACB to reject the recommendation. If that fails the case will go to the Federal courts. The constitutionality of the McCarran Act under which the school was cited is already being challenged before the Supreme Court.

The institution, founded in 1942 as the Tom Mooney Labor School, was supported by organized labor, educators, professionals and government agencies before the cold war. It was cited by Secy. of State Stettinius for services rendered during the founding conference of the UN in 1945. Later it was praised by the California Dept. of Education and was certified to teach ex-service men under the GI Bill.

Have you ordered YOUR
Ball Point Pens yet?
See Buying Service, p. 12

SOUTHERN ROADBLOCK IN CONGRESS

Ike holds statehood key for Hawaii and Alaska

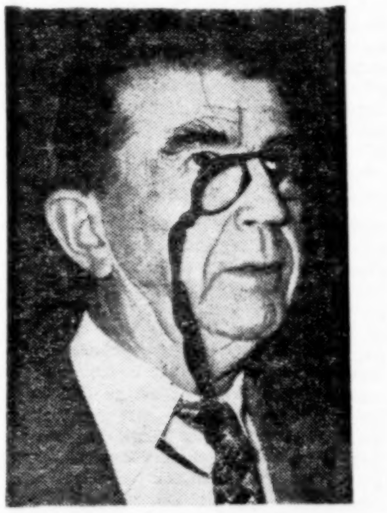
By Lawrence Emery

STATEHOOD for the Territory of Hawaii has been the subject of 12 full Congressional hearings and a total of 41 bills favoring its admission to the Union have been introduced in Congress. The question of statehood for the Territory of Alaska has been argued in Congress since 1916. Both major parties regularly and solemnly insert statehood planks in their platforms. Most Presidents in modern times have endorsed statehood. But somehow Congress manages never to enact the pledges into law.

Last week statehood bills for both Territories were again before Congress and publicly expressed support for them was stronger than ever. In his January budget message President Eisenhower endorsed statehood without qualification. The Departments of State, Defense and Interior are on record for immediate admission.

In addition, the bills now before Congress are stronger than any in the past. They call for direct admission of both Territories as full-fledged States with recognition of their representatives to be chosen at next year's elections. Past bills have provided only for enabling legislation requiring a delay for ratification by the present 48 states.

SOUTH WORRIED: Pressure for admission from both Territories is also greater than ever before. Last year Alaska decided to adopt the "Tennessee Plan" under which that Territory in 1796 elected two "Senators" and a "Representative" who went to Washington and knocked so loudly on the doors of Congress that they literally forced their way in.



REP. HOWARD W. SMITH

The bourbon bottleneck

Early last year Alaska held a 75-day Constitutional Convention and drew up a State Constitution which is regarded by many as a model. Later elections sent two "Senators-elect" and a "Congressman-elect" to Washington. Hawaii adopted its State Constitution in 1950.

But with all these pressures and support, there is no guarantee that Statehood will fare any better this year than in the past. Most Southerners in Congress are dead-set against it. They fear that four additional Senators would weaken or destroy their ancient weapon of the filibuster by providing the margin of votes needed to shut off debate. The racial composition of both Territories would almost automatically commit their Senators and Congressmen to support of civil rights legislation.

BOTTLE GAME: Last week this opposition was beginning to be felt again. Traditionally, the House Interior Committee is privileged to send statehood legislation directly to the floor of the House. Last February Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) quietly introduced a resolution amending House rules to deny that privilege and instead route statehood bills through the Rules Committee which he heads. On March 13 the Interior Committee directed its chairman, Rep. Clair Engle (D-Calif.), to fight the move. Engle said: "I think it's just a direct effort by the Rules Committee to prepare the way for bottling up the statehood bill. The majority of the Rules Committee is opposed to statehood, but statehood cannot be bottled up as long as we have the right to go on the floor as a privileged matter."

In addition, the Administration seemed less firm in support of statehood than public declarations by its leading spokesmen indicated. On April 1 the Justice Dept. sent a letter to the Senate Interior Subcommittee in which it not only failed to endorse statehood for Hawaii but resurrected the red menace stirred up by Sen. James O. Eastland's junket to the Islands last November. The Eastland committee reported a communist conspiracy in the Islands which was a threat to the nation's security.

THE SHIMMY: The Dept. of Justice letter, signed by Deputy Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, said: "Consideration must be given to the extent of influence and control communists, communist sympathizers and their associates may be able to exert, particularly through the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in the Islands." In reference to the Eastland probe, Rogers wrote: "The exposure of communist activity in Hawaii by that committee was undoubtedly most helpful. But we cannot, of course, measure exactly the extent to which communist influence in the Islands may have been lessened by those hearings."

The Rogers letter was not only contrary to the Administration's backing of statehood but seemed a reversal of the Justice Dept.'s own past stand on the matter. The Washington **Post** asked: "Is the Dept. of Justice doing a shimmy over the question of Hawaii statehood?" Of the Eastland hearings, the paper said:

"Some Southern members of the subcommittee, it may be suspected, find this a convenient screen for their real opposition to statehood on racial grounds."

ILWU VIEW: The ILWU itself, in convention in San Francisco, adopted this policy statement on statehood: "Hawaii and Alaska continue to be administered as Territories instead of enjoying the full benefits of statehood despite the practically unanimous demand of the people for statehood, and the repeated pledges of both political parties for this goal. It is a disgrace that this situation is permitted to continue because of the obstruction of a handful of reactionary politicians and certain business interests who see their particular interests threatened."

To many, President Eisenhower himself held the key to the problem. Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) said: "The whole question of statehood is up to the Administration . . . When the Administration wants to make an effort it can get its way felt in the Congress."

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WEST COAST LONGSHOREMEN MEET

ILWU calls for trade union democracy, more militancy

SOME 300 DELEGATES to the 12th biennial convention of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union in San Francisco early this month called for a renewed "fight for democracy within the labor movement and for a labor movement which is not simply a junior partner in American business enterprise." On the current Senate probe of labor, the delegates said: "We see no benefit, but instead see danger to the labor movement and to the ILWU from a policy of union cooperation with the present Senate Committee investigating labor."

President Harry Bridges, vice presidents J. R. Robertson and Germain Bulcke, and secy-treas. Louis Goldblatt were nominated for reelection without opposition. Final election will be by referendum balloting by the entire membership, with space provided for write-in candidates.

The convention also voted to increase per-capita dues to the international from 75c to $1 a month and to boost the salaries of the international officers by $25 a week, bringing Bridges' pay to $210 a week and the vice-presidents' to $200.

HARRY BRIDGES
Labor wants senior status

BUSINESS UNIONISM: Union goals set by the convention called for a "major improvement in wages" and for a reduction of working hours. It countered government pressure to keep wages down as a curb to inflation by declaring that "deflation is the more serious threat."

To meet this danger, the union offered a five-point program for increased wages, reduced Federal income taxation by raising personal exemptions from $600 to $1,200, reduction in military expenditures and a corresponding increase in Federal spending for education and housing, expansion of Social Security payments, and a large-scale program of economic aid to underdeveloped countries through the machinery of the United Nations.

The officers' report conceded that corruption exists in the American labor movement, but said that "beyond every corrupt labor official there is a corrupt employer and exploiter of labor. Labor leaders who practice business unionism soon adopt business standards and practices . . . More internal democracy is the only answer to such leaders of labor . . . And depriving union men of the protection of the Fifth Amendment will not build union democracy." Unions were urged to revive the "proud and independent role of labor in America [and to] discard respectability as a union goal and end emulation of business ethics."

A policy statement warned that "the Senate hearings, aided and abetted by anti-labor employer organizations and newspaper headlines, are creating a public atmosphere which is suspicious and distrustful of unions, and skeptical of their aims and policies; as a result the very strength, security and effective functioning of labor organizations . . . are affected."

NO FISHING: A letter from Bridges to AFL-CIO president George Meany listing 13 proposals for full rank-and-file control and democracy was unanimously approved. The letter said that "the ILWU does not concede the right of a Congressional committee to go on a fishing expedition in the labor movement" and that "labor itself has every right and responsibility to hunt and wipe out corrupt practices in its own ranks."

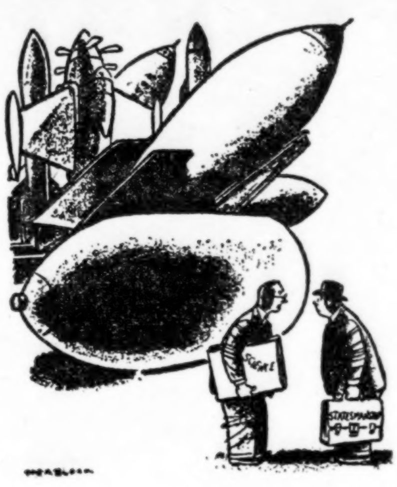
Guest speakers included the mayors of Oakland and San Francisco. An honored guest was James Matles, director of organization of the independent United Electrical Workers who has just been ordered denaturalized and is under deportation proceedings. Bridges compared Matles' case with his own successful 20-year fight against similar charges and pledged his union's full support.

FREE-WHEELING: In a policy statement on political action, the union reaffirmed its independence: "Independence and free-wheeling within both major parties and outside the parties as well still remains the touchstone to broadening and strengthening labor's role in American political life. Until the American labor movement is ready to build its own political party and elect men and women from its own ranks to office—as has been the case in England, France, Italy and elsewhere for many years—independence of action is the best road to follow."

The New York-New Jersey Bi-State Waterfront Commission was denounced as "a tool of the employers" and a threat to all maritime workers.

A special policy statement called for "full and free exchange of goods between the United States and all other countries of the world, including China." The convention elected a delegation of six to go to Washington "for the purpose of seeking world trade of non-strategic materials . . ."

A resolution on world peace advocated "mutual disarmament and the banning of all A- and H-bomb tests and production." It also called "upon all nations to end the so-called regional pacts outside the UN and bring back all troops behind the borders of their own country."



Herblock in Washington Post
"And what's new with you?"

Christmas Island

(Continued from Page 1)

hour to state their case. When he came out Matushita said:

"I asked him to stop the tests but I am afraid half an hour was not long enough to persuade him; he just repeated what he said in his speech in Parliament. But if all the people who love peace will co-operate together, something will come."

Matushita brought with him delicately hand-wrought appeals from all over Japan and boxes filled with paper, twisted into the shape of tiny cranes. He said that Tokyo girls had worked on these throughout several nights before the mission left, inspired by the legend that "1,000 cranes will bring you what you want." The professor added: "I suppose it would not help to give these to Mr. Macmillan. My official mission is only from my Prime Minister."

PLEASE DON'T: He denied forcefully that the protest movement was "organized by Communists, who, however, are human beings just as we are." He said:

"Many Westerners think we are too nervous, but we are just as nervous as we should be and others should be as nervous as we are. The campaign against H-tests was at first largely limited to the Left in our country because many regarded it as 'anti-American.' We are not 'anti-American,' but now we are asked why we are 'picking on the British.' We are not picking on anybody. We protested first against the American tests, then against the Russian. But the position now is that both the Americans and the Russians have already done wrong, and the British have announced their tests but have not done wrong yet. That is why we are saying to you: 'Don't do the wrong—please don't do it'."

Christmas Island had already flamed into an issue in British politics. The Labour Party, triumphing over its hesitant right wing, had gone on record for a postponement of the H-bomb tests and a new initiative in seeking an international ban. In Parliament 80 Labour MP's favored a demand for an unconditional, outright abandonment of the tests. The British Council of Churches passed a resolution of protest over the opposition of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

ASIA AROUSED: The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Tests scheduled a public meeting on April 30. The **News Chronicle** urged Britain "to stop her tests" and "give the lead the world is hoping for."

The appeal was echoed throughout Asia. Ceylon's Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike said he would join the world-wide protest. In India the Hindustan **Times** said editorially: "If British public opinion were to assert itself in the matter, the Government would be compelled to have second thoughts on the decision to hold these tests."

Sahib Singh Sokhey, prominent Indian scientist and vice-president of the All-India Peace Council, writing in the Delhi **Times Weekly,** warned: "A fresh menace faces the world and particularly the Asian people." He called for "concerted action" by the people of India and said: "Peace-loving people all over the world, even in the U.S. and England, are with us."

The Hindustan **Standard** commented: "Evidently what happens to the people in the Pacific area is of little consequence to Macmillan."

NEW SOVIET TEST: While indignation mounted, U.S. and British officials announced that the Soviet had set off two more nuclear blasts, presumably in Soviet Central Asia. The Soviet Union has announced that it is testing atomic warheads. Previous explosions in the current Soviet series have reportedly resulted in radioactive rain over Japan. The Soviet Union has rejected all Japanese protests, claiming that it is testing weapons only within its own territory and urging Japanese to support Soviet proposals for a temporary suspension of weapons testing by all nations.

The London **New Statesman and Nation** commented: "The Soviet Union is able, throughout the vast territories that border the Indian and Pacific Oceans, to boast that it offers to refrain from all tests and to negotiate the end of nuclear warfare. Because we dismiss these offers as propaganda, Moscow can continue its own H-bomb tests and say with a straight face that it only does so because we refuse to abandon ours. If we postpone our tests pending negotiations, we shall have taken an all-important first step: the world might then begin to believe that our verbal support of disarmament is not a pack of lies."

PLAYING "FOR KEEPS": Meanwhile RAF Valiant bombers arrived on Christmas Island amid reports that the first of three H-bombs would be tested there early in May. The U.S. announced a new series of tests in Nevada beginning May 15. Dr. C. W. Shilling, deputy director of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission's Division of Biology and Medicine, defending the tests last February said: "The game we are playing with Russia is for enormously high stakes and is for keeps. Therefore we must gamble with the probability of radiation damage to a few individuals in order to secure the survival of the total society."

The stakes seemed higher than Dr. Shilling estimated. In a cautious report last month the UN's World Health Organization warned that even small doses of radiactivity might cut the life span of all mammals, that the damage was cumulative.

Each new fallout—in Siberia, Christmas or Nevada—would find victims among children yet unborn.

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Lawson lectures in Los Angeles

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON is giving a new series of lectures in Los Angeles on the influence of movies, television and the mass magazines on American culture. The series is titled: "What are people learning and thinking about in the U.S.A. 1957?"

Admission is 90c a session, students 60c. On several scheduled panels well-known Hollywood writers will appear.

Lawson, playwright, screenwriter and historian, is the author of such films as "Sahara" and "Action in the North Atlantic." His book, **Theory and Technique of Playwriting and Screenwriting,** is a standard text in many universities.

The lectures are being given at 800 South Plymouth Blvd. at 8:30 sharp.

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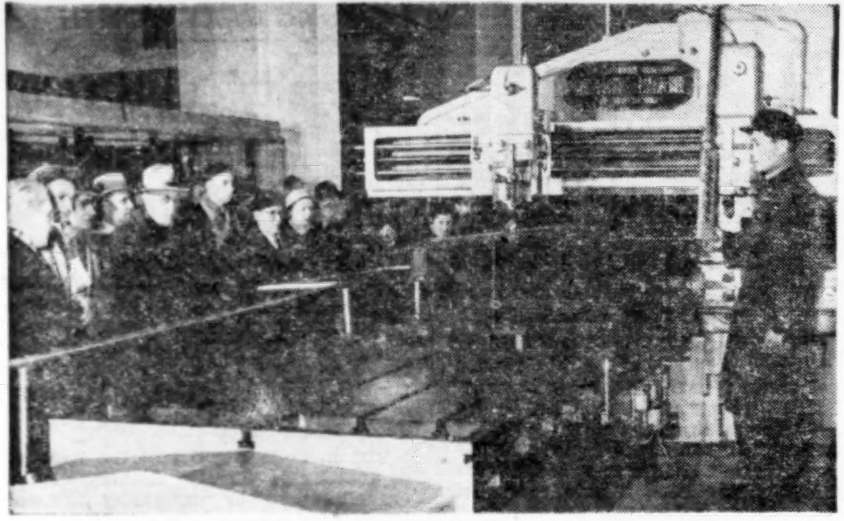


CHINA SHOWS OFF ITS INDUSTRY AT LEIPZIG FAIR
The man at right is demonstrating a single-operator planing machine.

The Leipzig Fair—10 years after

By George Wheeler
Special to the GUARDIAN

LEIPZIG, GERMANY

FOR CENTURIES, except in time of war, a trade fair has been held every spring and fall in Leipzig. Perhaps never in all that time have the fairs reflected such deep economic and political changes as in the last ten years.

In 1947 the first fair after the war was reopened. Most of the exhibit buildings had been destroyed. Some were hastily patched and heated with steam from a locomotive boiler. The streets were partially cleared of rubble, but smelled of decay. Everything was imitation: lemonade and beer, 'sawdust" bread, "bockwurst" filled with cereal. The exhibits, except for the books and art, looked more like a display of Goodwill Industries.

Now the Leipzig fairs are again among the greatest in the world. At the one just recently closed, exhibitors came from 40 countries and buyers from more. The exhibit buildings were jammed. Here were restaurants with fine food, stores filled with consumer goods and customers, and again Leipzig homes put up surplus visitors in a generations-old tradition.

But the Leipzig fair had much broader significance: it reflects the changing political situation in the world, the economic stagnation of some countries and the rapid development of others. Most significant was the contrast in the progress made by China and that made by India, Turkey and Latin America. From the latter countries were displayed only the products of light industry or agriculture, such as fine tobacco from Turkey, the traditionally exquisite textiles of India, canned beef from Uruguay. China displayed both the traditional arts, crafts, food and raw materials, and fine modern machine tools and products of heavy industry. Also on display were excellent motor trucks.

The displays in 1947 showed how war dragged the technical base down to a primitive level. This year the exhibits not only demonstrated that the pre-war efficiency had been restored, but that a big leap into the future was being made technologically. The ending of the Cold War would make possible a corresponding progress in standards of living.

Norman's death

(Continued from Page 1)

which have a great deal of information to the effect that he [Norman] is a Communist." The transcript showed that the subcommittee's 1951 witness had updated his testimony by asserting that Norman was a member of a "Communist group" at Columbia U. in 1940.

On the morning of April 4 the 48-year-old diplomat stood on the rooftop of the nine-story building. He carefully rested his watch and sunglasses on the parapet. Then, while passers-by in the street screamed, he took three steps backward to his death. He left two notes in his pocket. One was an affectionate farewell to his wife. The other, addressed to his friend Brynolf Eng, Swedish minister to Egypt, said: "I have no option. I must kill myself, for I live without hope."

"MURDER BY SLANDER": Canadian officials, from the Prime Minister down, were almost unanimous in crediting the kill to the Senate subcommittee. Pearson said Norman had been depressed as a result of "the resurrection by one or two persons in Washington of certain old charges affecting his loyalty . . . The reasons for these renewed attacks may be obscure, but the tactics used degrade only those who adopted them."

Opposition leaders in the Commons called Norman's death "assassination by insinuation." To Socialist member Alistair Stewart it was "murder by slander." Conservative leader John Diefenbaker attributed the suicide to "witch-hunting proclivities of certain Congressional inquisitors in Washington, who, lacking targets, felt impelled to malign and condemn Canadian public servants as well."

The General Council of the United Church of Canada in a public statement condemned the "shocking and sadistic methods" of Congressional committees and asked President Eisenhower to prevent "politicians and partisans from assassinating the characters of innocent men." The Council said that U.S. safeguards had been carried beyond any security requirements by "fear, hysteria and unprincipled political ambition."

JAPANESE INCIDENT: The Inquisition had already embroiled Washington in international nastiness by summoning Harvard exchange lecturer Prof. Shigeto Tsuru. In Tokyo Diet members bitterly protested the action and the Japanese Ambassador transmitted a formal protest to the State Dept.

On the day after Norman's death, committee counsel Morris read to reporters a statement in the name of chairman James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) and the ranking Republican member William E. Jenner (Ind.). The statement, reportedly approved by committee members Johnston (D-S.C.), Hruska (R-Neb.), Butler (R-Md.) and McClellan (D-Ark.), said:

"If foreign nationals enter the United States and join Communist units here and participate with American Communists in the subversion of our institutions, these facts should be known to the Senate. Furthermore, if they do not have any diplomatic immunity they are subject to our process like any other person in the United States. That is the practice of the subcommittee and we shall continue this practice because it is our duty to do so."

When reporters asked Morris whether he felt any responsibility for Norman's death, he refused to answer. One reporter suggested that the subcommittee might have included in its statement a line saying: "Too bad a man died."

Morris said: "The statement speaks for itself."

AMERICAN INQUISITION'S TOLL

The victims

This is a partial list of men and women whose deaths can be traced to the U.S. Inquisition. More may have suffered out of sight and died before their time as the result of investigations. Thousands of others have been hurt by the blacklist and the smear but have persevered.

HARRY DEXTER WHITE, New Dealer, assistant to the Secy of the Treasury. Charged with heading an espionage ring by Whittaker Chambers. In an appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Aug. 13, 1948, he denied all accusations and read his creed: "I believe in the right and duty of every citizen to work for, to expect and to obtain an increasing measure of political, economic and emotional security for all . . ."

Three days later, while the attack against him mounted White died of a heart attack.

LAURENCE DUGGAN, New Deal State Dept. official, mentioned by Isaac Don Levine as one of Whittaker Chambers' "communist couriers" in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Dec. 8, 1948, questioned by the FBI Dec. 9; leaped to his death from his 16th floor office in New York on Dec. 20. On Dec. 21 Chambers said that Duggan was "not to my direct knowledge a Communist."

JOSEPH EDWARD BROMBERG, actor, Subpenaed by Un-American Activities Committee, April, 1951. His doctors warned that he had to "refrain from emotional upsets and to avoid tensions and anxieties.' The committee insisted on his appearance June 26. On Dec. 6, 1951, he was found dead in a hotel room in London where he had been appearing in a play by Dalton Trumbo. Police listed his death as "from natural causes." Bromberg's friend Clifford Odets called it "death by political misadventure."

MADY CHRISTIANS, actress. Blacklisted by committee testimony and **Red Channels.** Died Oct. 28, 1951. Playwright Elmer Rice said: "No one who knew her or who saw her during the last tortured months of her life can doubt that her death was hastened, if not actually caused, by the small-souled witchhunters who make a fine art of character assassination."

CANADA LEE, actor. Labeled as "fellow-traveler" in 1949; hounded by the FBI; blacklisted out of Broadway, Hollywood, radio and TV. He once asked: "How long can a man take this unfair and unfounded treatment?" Died May 9, 1952. Heart attack.

CANADA LEE

JOHN GARFIELD, actor. Testified before Un-American Activities Committee on April 3, 1951, to "clear his name." He denounced communism and denied that he knew any communists, but the hounding and blacklisting continued. The committee was reported ready to bring perjury charges. Died May 21, 1952. Heart attack.

ABRAHAM FELLER, general counsel of the UN, appeared as the representative of the then Secy. General Trygve Lie before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and a grand jury probing "subversive affiliations" of UN employes. Leaped from his 12th-floor New York apartment Nov. 13, 1952. Lie said he died fighting "against indiscriminate smears and exaggerated charges."

RAYMOND KAPLAN, radio engineer for the Voice of America under investigation in 1953 by the Senate Investigations Subcommittee, chaired then by Sen. McCarthy. Threw himself in front of a truck in Cambridge, Mass., March 3, 1953. In a note to his wife and son he wrote that he had done no wrong but that "once the dogs are set on you, everything you have done since the beginning of time is suspect."

HARRY DEXTER WHITE

PHILIP LOEB, actor. Listed in **Red Channels** in 1950. Dropped from the cast of the radio show **The Goldbergs** (he played Papa) on Jan. 8, 1952. Named by the Un-American Activities and Senate Internal Security Committees. Blacklisted. Killed himself with an overdose of sleeping pills in a New York hotel Aug. 31, 1955.

FRANCIS OTTO MATTHIESSEN, Harvard professor. Delegate to the Progressive Party founding convention in 1948. In 1949, cited by Joseph B. Matthews, one-time research director of the Un-American Activities Committee, as a supporter of "communist fronts." Matthews, testifying before a Massachusetts legislative committee, quoted Matthiessen as saying: "I am a Christian and a Socialist." On April 1, 1950, Matthiessen plunged from a 12th-floor hotel room in Boston. He left a note saying: "I have been depressed by conditions throughout the world for many months. I am a Christian and I also am a Socialist. I believe firmly in international peace."

Others driven to their deaths by smear are: JOHN WINANT, Roosevelt's ambassador to Britain, who shot himself after charges that he failed to facilitate entry of U.S. troops into Berlin; WALTER MARVIN SMITH, Justice Dept. lawyer, who leaped to his death after being mentioned as a notary in a transaction involving Alger Hiss; MORTON E. KENT, former State Dept. official, found in the Potomac with his throat cut after the FBI placed him under surveillance.

Oh

"We raised the price to meet competition."—*Texas Company president Foley, explaining to the Senate Anti-Trust Committee why the price of gasoline was recently increased.*

—So. California **Teamster, 3/20**

WHERE ONE-THIRD OF YOUR WAGES GOES

The truth about taxes

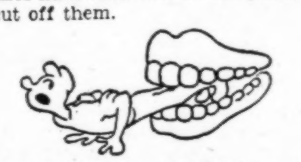
Those seeking a common view for new political realignment in the U.S. need look no further than the tax picture, which annually comes into sharp focus throughout the country on April 15—Federal individual income tax deadline day. On this day, annually, more Americans are in agreement than at any other time, all holding that taxes are too high and should be cut.

This year a GUARDIAN "Truth Team" (borrowing the term from the Eisenhower-for-President campaign of '56) set out to examine our tax structure. We are presenting the findings in two parts, one this week, the other in our April 22 issue. If we can make you madder than usual about taxes, perhaps you may decide to start something, or join something, aimed at righting the imbalance of the tax burden in the U.S.

One conclusion we will tell you at the start: Nearly one-third of your wages go for taxes—with no relief in sight.

Here are the findings of the Truth Team:

NO AMERICAN WAGE-EARNER has collected a full pay envelope on any payday since 1943. Even your wage increases have each had a slice permanently cut off them.



Your employer "withholds" from 6% to 15% of your income, beginning each January, for taxes due 16 months later, in April of the following year. In the course of these 16 months, the employer and the U.S. government handle your tax payments, in advance, without a cent of interest to you.

This pay-as-you-go plan was enacted in June, 1943, to finance the cost of World War II. Originally it was proposed that taxes be withheld at the source not only on wages, but on interest, dividends, rents and other income. Congress put the bite on wages only, however; for the rest, the government settles for "estimates" and reports instead of advance payments, collecting what the loopholes leave at the end of the tax year.

This "painless" withholding-tax system is as slick and efficient as automation: Congress sets a tax rate and, presto, from Maine to California some 50,000,000 wage-earners begin paying taxes in advance, weekly, from there on out.

Relief—for whom?

EXEMPTIONS for individuals and dependents were slashed during World War II to add millions of families, previously exempt, to the tax rolls.

For millions of other families, lowered exemptions meant a couple of hundred dollars annually on their tax bills.

Exemption is now only $600 per person, compared to $1,000 for individuals and $2,500 for married couples in 1939.

During the Korean War, Congress hiked the personal income tax rate by 20% in 1950, and then by an additional 11% in 1951. In 1954 Congress undertook to relieve the taxpayer of some of this burden. Here's the way they passed out the relief:

● Cancelled the smaller of the income tax boosts imposed during the Korean War—the 11% one.

● Wiped out the excess profits tax—thus making a gift of close to $3 billion annually to the big corporations.

● Cut excise taxes by $1 billion on furs, jewelry, cabaret tabs, cosmetics, but not on cigarettes or gasoline.

Result: Only 9% of the tax cut benefitted people with incomes under $5,000 (70% of taxpayers); corporations and people in the over-$5,000 class shared 91% of the "relief."

The wage-earner

IF YOUR INCOME is solely from wages, your chances of getting a tax refund this year or any year are slim or nil.

You can't deduct for carfare and lunches as "business and entertainment" expenses the way your employer can.

If you've had small earnings in one year because of layoffs or other reasons, you can't offset this against other years when you earned a full year's pay, and thus get a tax refund.

But companies can balance their earnings and losses over an eight-year period and claim refunds.

You can't deduct for the job's wear and tear on your body and mind, but your employer deducts for depreciation of machinery.

And so on down the line.

The upper brackets

IF THE LAW IS HARD on the wage-earner, it's kindly toward others whose income is based on dividends, interest, rents, etc.

While in the wage-earners' case, the Treasury has a record of earnings and takes the tax money in advance, high-income people make their own quarterly "estimates" and annual reports of their earnings and pay taxes later on those bases. And, although their tax rate is higher, the loopholes are wide and plentiful.

There's the "income-splitting" gimmick which, according to the AFL-CIO, permits the rich to save no less than $3.5 billion annually. There's the "capital' gains" device which slashes their tax rate and saves them another billion a year.

Bigshot executives get "tax-sheltered" income through stock options, pensions, deferred pay, etc. Entertainment and business expenses, virtually tax-free, cover a multitude of things, from memberships in the swankiest country clubs to trips abroad for the family.

Their lawyers and tax experts show them how to juggle income and ""interpret" the law to cut down taxes. Their lobbyists never cease pressing Congress for "tax relief.'

Thus corporation write-offs for "depreciation," "amortization" and "depletion"—billion-dollar-words—save the rich $5 billion annually. And this by no means describes all the loopholes.

Upper-income individuals have another way to cut down their tax bill—by simply not reporting part of their income.

Look at this, from the National Bureau of Economic Research Studies in Income and Wealth, 1951, p 302:

PERCENTAGE OF INCOME UNREPORTED FOR 1946

Income Source	% Unreported
Civilian Wages & Salaries ...	5%
Business Income	29
Interest	63
Dividends	24
Rent	55

There's plenty of data to show that those whose income is derived from sources other than wages cheat the government out of hundreds of millions annually.

And just who do you think makes up the deficit?

The OTHER taxes

NOW LET'S GET BACK to the wage-earner: Federal and State income taxes are only part of their tax troubles.

In 33 States and many cities, there's a 3% sales tax that nibbles on the dollars you spend. If you own a home, you pay a property tax. If you're a tenant, the landlord passes his tax onto your rent bill.

You pay taxes on gasoline, cigarettes, phone, utilities, movies and a dozen and one other "nuisance" taxes. The rate is the same, for bankers and unemployed—share and share alike.

At least you can see the "nuisance" taxes, but do you have any idea of the "hidden" taxes you pay?

When suppliers of raw materials, manufacturers, wholesalers or retailers are taxed for their products or services, they mark up the price to include the tax. When this belt-line of built-in taxes reaches you, it stops. You foot the entire bill.

Did you know that hidden taxes on clothing, coal, tobacco and gas amount to more than 50% of the retail price? That taxes on a car come to 28%?

Add it all up, and you'll realize the bleeding truth:

NEARLY ONE-THIRD OF YOUR WAGES GO FOR TAXES!

And who can say that taxes won't rise even higher?

The military junkpile

SURELY, you have a right to ask whether you're getting your money's worth for the taxes you pay, and whether your tax bill can be cut down. Let's look at the first point.

Biggest item in our $71.8 billion budget is for national defense—at least $43 billion. That comes to about $250 per capita for every man, woman and child in the U.S.

Are our defense dollars being spent wisely and economically? Isn't there a limit to the amount of planes, tanks and atom bombs we need for protection, or do we have to keep on spending these fantastic sums forever?

Here is what the Hoover Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch found when it looked into this matter:

● Government warehouses are overstocked by from $10-$20 billion worth of military property.

● A large volume of military goods is sold as scrap, destroyed or abandoned.

● About $2 billion worth is disposed of annually, bringing in a recovery rate of 5% to 7% of the cost.

● Many military depots have stocked items sufficient for a 20- to 30-year period.

Are we to keep on building—and paying for—billion-dollar junkpiles forever?

NEXT WEEK: The Big Business "Gravy Train" (with you supplying the gravy); and what could be done short of socialism to correct the tax structure.

HEARING NEXT MONTH

'Loyalty' discharge for GIs barred in Roosevelt bill

Special to the GUARDIAN

LOS ANGELES

SHORT OF SUCCESSFUL litigation through the Supreme Court, the only way to re-establish the principle of honorable discharge for honorable service in the U.S. armed forces seems to be passage of H.R. 429, a bill introduced by Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Cal.).

The measure would halt the issuance of undesirable "loyalty" discharges based on "allegations" or "derogatory information" concerning a GI's alleged actions, beliefs or associations prior to his induction.

Under the bill any member of the armed forces given a less than honorable discharge could demand a military court martial. If no court martial is convened the soldier must be granted an honorable discharge. A court martial would give the "suspect" GI the benefit of due process under rules of evidence and allow him to confront and cross-examine accusers, a right denied in military security hearings.

HEARING IN MAY: Roosevelt's bill would also amend the "Uniform Code of Military Justice" so that no court martial could punish a soldier "for anything done or not done" outside the service "or for any exercise of a legal or Constitutional right," while a soldier or a civilian.

Ex-GI's, presently holding less-than-honorable exit papers from the military since 1947, would be given honorable discharges under the measure as long as they could prove they were drummed out solely because of alleged activity or associations as a civilian.

In the Senate, Warren Magnuson introduced Senate Bill 1668, as a companion to the Roosevelt bill. He got Legion and VFW support in his home state.

The Roosevelt measure, which was introduced Jan. 3, faces tough sledding when it comes up for public hearing early in May. Heading the Armed Services subcommittee which will air the bill will be Rep. Clyde Doyle (D-Calif.), member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and a vigorous opponent of the measure. Doyle has introduced a bill (H.R. 1108) which would permit stigmatized ex-GIs to "clear" themselves by proving that for not less than three years subsequent to their discharge their "character, conduct, activities and habits" had been "good." They would also have to prove themselves "patriotic, loyal, and law-abiding American citizens." An honorable discharge gained by the Doyle method would not restore GI benefits lost by the original discharge. His bill would dangerously extend military control over civilian life.

"FAIR PLAY BILL": On this point Roosevelt was clear:

"There has been a steady encroachment by the military into the sphere of civilian jurisdiction. My bill is intended to curb this encroachment. No agency of the Armed Forces should arrogate unto itself the power of punishment for offences allegedly committed by a civilian in civil life and, most especially, should this not be done when the manner of doing it is such that, in most instances, the victim is seriously hampered in his defense by imperfect knowledge of what he is charged with and no knowledge whatever of who is making the charges."

The Servicemen's Defense Committee, P.O. Box 78402, Los Angeles 16, Calif., and the Veterans Civil Liberties Committee, 1029 Carolina St., San Francisco, are conducting a public drive in support of the Roosevelt "GI fair play" bill.

Lost and Found

LOST—Black Wallet, probably vicinity of Germania Hall by Hungarian Freedom Fighter, containing all personal and identification papers and large amount of cash. Reward. Phone GLobe 4-2238.

—Poughkeepsie New Yorker, 3/21

H. H. WILSON ON THE AMERICAN MOOD

The politics of indifference

Following are excerpts of an address given at the recent annual convention of the National Lawyers Guild by H. H. Wilson, associate professor of history at Princeton University.

THIS IS a difficult period for those of us who sense the inadequacy of "personal politics," and share the conviction that there are real problems that should constitute the subject matter of politics. Though we may agree with Dr. Pangloss that this is the best of all possible worlds, we also suspect that behind the facade of pseudo-prosperity and pious religiosity decisions are being taken—or avoided—which will shape the future of this society.

Yet the general climate is not conducive to probing criticism, to speculation about our direction of movement, to consideration of alternative public policies. The obstacles to criticism are, in part overt, represented by more or less refined efforts to stifle disagreement, choke off dissent, smother debate, avoid discussion. The political inquisition which was intensified at the beginning of the Cold War period shows no sign of dying out. The devices utilized to sustain the American Celebration range from exile, jail, loss of employment to more subtle pressures to conform. These are the age-old familiar attacks on civil liberties.

Presumably the Guild has always acted vigorously to protect civil liberties from attack in the belief that if such liberties were secure they would be used to provoke discussion on the widest range of public policy. So utilized these civil liberties would remain in American practice what they have been in Western democratic theory—stimulators of progress and a hedge against disastrous social policies. That is to say, the Guild has been concerned with civil liberties because Guild members believe such liberties essential to political action.

But what the Guild and democratic theorists had always taken more or less for granted is now cause for concern among students of democracy. Even if the people enjoy civil and political freedoms, will they use them for any purpose more ennobling than is suggested by the practitioners of advertising and public relations?

In short, to be meaningful civil liberties must be used, but unfortunately we live amid the Politics of Indifference. This phenomenon, the Politics of Indifference, is more basic, more difficult to arrest and more characteristic of our era than the flagrant attacks on civil liberties.

THE ORGANIZATION MAN, the Herman Wouks, the Norman Vincent Peales are more representative of our time than the McCarthys, Walters, or Jenners. Some five years ago I tried to explain in some detail why I believed Senator McCarthy to be unimportant and the phenomenon of McCarthyism a symptom and not a cause of our malaise. My conclusion then was that defense of our civil liberties, however important, is simply not enough and that in the long run only political action will serve because it is going to take power to counteract the drift of this society.

It would be both unfair and too flattering to credit the present Administration for creating this climate of indifference, for it too probably reflects rather than creates—and there is little evidence that the Democratic Party offers an alternative.

We may agree, however, that the Eisenhower Administration is assured of a place in history for many reasons. Not only has it made the White House a health resort to rival White Sulphur Springs, but it has added a fourth branch to the traditional Executive-Legislative-Judiciary divisions. It has moved Public Relations to the center of the stage and shelved the problem of separation of powers. Everything has become a matter of salesmanship, of communications, of creating the proper image.

This development probably reflects the influence of the business executives who largely staff this Administration. They look on government as a merchandising operation and turn naturally to the advertising and public relations agencies which have served as the brain trust for the business and commercial world. Some Washington reporters credit the pervasive public relations approach for the coinage of such inspirational slogans as "the Eisenhower magic," "unleashing Chiang Kai-shek," "the team" and "partnership."

AS AN APPROACH to reality, what is called for is a change in the climate of opinion, a reassertion of confidence in the potential of democratic procedures, and the rise of a generation prepared to challenge and to alter any institution or practice—however benevolent—which implements antidemocratic power.

Though I am prepared to concede that there has been some relaxation in tension, oppression, and persecution of individuals, I am not convinced that there has been any significant change in the direction of movement. For our problem remains one of indifference.

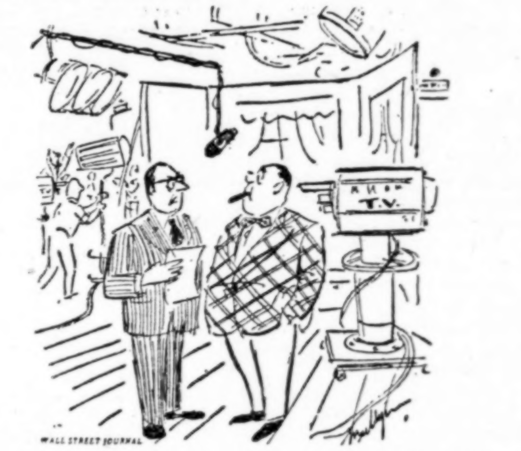
In a sense the present epoch, I believe, constitutes a turning point in the development of Western societies. Where our country began with the myth of the individual, self-reliant, critical and independent, our age may witness the elimination of all genuine individuality.

It has seemed to me that many of the tensions in our society, as well as much confusion, apathy, and indifference derives from our failure to recognize the permanent nature of the changes which have occurred.

We refuse to recognize the totalitarian potential in the modern economy and try to ignore the implications of the organizational revolution. My personal conviction is that we shall either use modern science and technology for democratic-humanist ends and devise techniques to give meaning to democratic political processes in a world of mass and organization, or science and technology will be used by antidemocrats to control and manipulate men for ends determined for them by an elite.

As a challenge then to a politics of indifference, I offer these propositions for political debate.

FIRST, though it be platitudinous and bromidic, I must underscore the necessity for individual commitment. For whatever is done must be done by individuals, therefore each person must decide for himself whether the effort is worthwhile.



Wall Street Journal

"Oh, you're making them laugh, all right. But they still aren't buying Gruber's shoe polish."

Much depends on what each one of us conceives to be the good life; to what extent we give hostages which will limit our freedom of choice; and the depth of our commitment to socially-oriented values.

This is one of the areas of greatest uncertainty in speculating about the future. For I don't know, and do not know how to discover, the depth of individual commitment to democratic values. I am convinced, however, that a beginning will be made when individuals ask: "What does one live for? What makes life worthwhile?"

SECONDLY, it isn't enough to talk of changing human nature, nor is it particularly rewarding to concentrate on original sin, even though one be willing to concede the point that there is "a spiritual as well as a political and economic crisis."

Therefore it seems imperative that there be institutional change as well, for the problem is the problem of power. To be explicit, huge private collectives must be brought under effective social control, i.e., rendered fully responsible to society. That there is no pat method for the achievement of this does not eliminate the necessity. It may be less shocking to consider this suggestion if one appreciates that today the choice is not between the individual enterprise and the collective, but between the kind of collective that is to dominate.

The reasons for this conclusion seem apparent. The existence of huge private collectives distorts the operation of the political system. Remember that they are private only in the sense that they are largely beyond public responsible control. More important, perhaps, is that the purposes and values of these private collectives determine the ends of society. We cannot protect humanistic values if all society is to be integrated to the production and consumption of commodities.

As merely one example we may consider the phenomenon of advertising, certainly one of the vital institutions fixing values and standards of this society. We spend about $10 billion annually on advertising, as compared with $2 billion for higher education and $4 billion for all scientific research.

What is basic is that advertising considers man as a consumer and the end of life the consumption of more and more goods.

Let it not be assumed that the change to social control will by itself resolve all difficulties; it may even create additional ones. There is no magic formula, but I am unable to avoid the conclusion that until this step is taken it will be impossible to make a start.

THIRDLY, if one accepts the inevitability of some form of collectivism, the only way to guarantee that it will serve human welfare is to strengthen democracy. This means, among other things, that not only must traditional rights be strengthened, but there must be accepted larger responsibilities, both by individuals and by groups, with government seen as a positive, creative force.

Individuals and groups must learn to think in terms of responsibility to society and there must be sanctions to enforce responsible behavior. To be sure, this whole approach implies a high degree of optimism concerning potential human behavior, but there is no acceptable alternative for the humanist democrat. For if one rejects the notion of a potential capacity of men to rise above their own immediate and nominal self-interest, one thing is reasonably certain: there is no prospect of avoiding the totalitarian state.

We find it difficult to accept this potential in human behavior because we have assumed that self-interest, narrowly defined, is the primary motivating force in man and have structured our society to re-enforce this motive and discourage other incentives.

As one business man wrote me recently: "The self-seeking and voracity of business aims have to be translated into pretentions of public concern, 'service' and the national welfare. So the public relations practitioner has to prettify, denature and endow with the most unbusinesslike attitudes and virtues, his business clients. It is as though the press agent for the circus were to publicize Gargantua a a practicing anthropologist."

For this reason democracy must be mobilized to define the operative values and the social ends we desire. As steps in this direction there are positive measures which could be implemented.

Thus society need not permit the domination of press, radio, and television by a few individuals for commercial ends. It would not be too much to suggest that there be one national TV and radio channel publicly owned, and that federal policy encourage ownership of local and regional stations by states, cities, counties, state universities. It would not be drastic to provide sharp limitations on the number of outlets any individual or group could control.

By deliberate policy we could minimize the power of advertisers to inculcate the operative values of the society. It would be a simple task to design tax laws which could make advertising beyond a certain level simply too costly.

We even could, if we wanted to and saw its necessity, make certain that our students were exposed to an education.

We could also by deliberate effort create, or strengthen, drives, incentives, goals to motivate people—other than those based on pecuniary return.

There is some evidence that young people are anxious to participate in something larger and more satisfying than the pursuit of their own self-interest. Many could be found, I believe, eager to work for a society that stood for great principles, had clearly stated goals, and provided a sense of purpose.

FOURTHLY, there must be a restatement of democratic political theory to provide a framework for the operation of democratic institutions and to stimulate general understanding of the nature of the problem.

It is essential that the traditional Lockean laissez-faire political and economic theory be clearly repudiated, and be replaced by a political philosophy which conceives government action to be capable of positive good rather than as a necessary moral and political evil.

FIFTHLY, perhaps the most obvious, and the least recognized, fact is that consistent, far-ranging, deliberate planning is now essential.

This is a difficult conception for us to accept, but I don't see how one can examine the sober facts in such a book as Harrison Brown's "The Challenge of Man's Future" without coming to understand the literal idiocy involved in haphazard individual decisions. Without regard for their merit in specific instances, such procedures have become productive only of chaos and disaster in a technological and collectivized society.

Furthermore, and most disquieting to many of us, is the all too apparent fact that planning for a single nation is as obsolete as reliance on Adam Smith's "invisible hand".

FINALLY, we must live "As If"—as if it were possible for men to resolve the dilemma: how to combine science-technology-organization with the humanist values of the Great Tradition.

Whatever our doubts, there can be no denial that if we live and act on the premise that nothing can be done, that we might as well concentrate on the "fast buck" and "getting ours", the future is certain.

Obviously, there is, on the basis of this analysis, no occasion for cheers and dancing in the streets; but as a matter of personal taste, I find adequate hope in E. H. Carr's observations (concerning Great Britain):

"Three broad possibilities confront this country at the present time: sudden disaster, slow stagnation and decay such as once overtook the civilization of Byzantium and of Spain, and re-adaptation to the needs and conditions of a new historical period. The one thing we cannot do is to return to the shore whence we have come. Disaster might overwhelm us through events largely beyond our control. But the possibility of a tornado does not excuse negligent or faulty seamanship. We still have a good chance of coming through if we boldly face the prospect ahead."

HERRIOT'S DYING WORDS: "THE RUHR!"

Diary of a French week shows nation's moral crisis

By Anne Bauer
Special to the GUARDIAN

PARIS

THE WEEK of March 23-30 was not much different from any other week. But it happens sometimes that a series of events crowded into a short space of time, form a pattern in point and counterpoint more eloquent than any commentary could be.

Try to write the political diary for that week and this is what you get:

SATURDAY: A 38-year-old Algerian lawyer, Maitre Ali Boumendjel, on the way from his cell to a cross-examination, tore away from his guards and jumped to death from the sixth-story terrace of an Algiers building where he was being held by a French army unit. Previous cross-examinations and a supposed suicide attempt had put him in a psychiatric ward for 20 days.

Since his arrest on Feb. 9, he had been in army hands, out of sight of any judge, outside all regular legal channels. His own family had been unable to learn his whereabouts. Two protest telegrams by his brother, himself a lawyer, to various government members went without reply. The conditions of Boumendjel's suicide recalled exactly those of at least one top French Resistance leader held by the Nazis in World War II.

SUNDAY: René Capitant, a law professor, friend of Gen. de Gaulle and Minister of Education in the first de Gaulle government, wrote a note to the government. He announced he would suspend his law courses at the Sorbonne. Capitant had had Boumendjel as his student at Algiers University at a time when he was not only teaching law but also organizing the Resistance in North Africa.

Quoting a recently published volume, **Against Torture** (GUARDIAN, 4/1), Capitant wrote: 'As long as such practices—to which, even in wartime, we never submitted the German prisoners—are prescribed or tolerated against Algerians by the government of my country, I do not feel that I can teach at a French law faculty." A few days later the well-known writer, Vercors, returned his Legion of Honor to the President of the Republic.

MONDAY: The government-controlled French radio carried from Rome the signing ceremony of the Euratom and European governments. The treaties, which would deliver France, hands tied, to German economic and political hegemony, were still to be ratified by the six parliaments.

Meanwhile, the European idea, embodied these days by ex-Nazi Gen. Speidel—named to a NATO HQ command post as of April 1—claimed one of its first victims. A young draftee and Resistance orphan, Claude Marty, was in prison since mid-March because he refused to serve under the orders of a man responsible for his father's death.

TUESDAY: Edouard Herriot, writer and college professor, Mayor of Lyon and President of the Radical Socialist Party, a Senator and Deputy for 40 years, and one of the last great figures of the Third Republic, lay dying. In his agony, he kept murmuring one word over and over: "The Ruhr." The Ruhr is the symbol of German military and industrial power.

Herriot had been a great fighter for world peace and cooperation. He had normalized Franco-Soviet relations as early as 1924 and was one of the first, in 1932, to warn against rising German militarism. Twenty years later, his plea against German rearmament was at once so impassioned and so lucid that it helped swing the House to rejection of the EDC European Army project in August, 1954.

WEDNESDAY: Premier Mollet closed a two-week House debate with a 90-minute general policy statement. The debate had been stormier than expected. The right was exasperated by the government's economic policy and the prospect of new taxes imprudently announced by Finance Minister Ramadier. The progressive left, the Mendésists and some others asked indignant questions about the Boumendjel case. Instead of replying, Mollet accused them of "monstrous generalizations" that would further demoralize the army.

To the right-wing Independents, vital to his government's survival, the Prime Minister was careful to close no doors. Toning down some of the conditions of his own Jan. 9 declaration of intentions on Algeria was one way to their heart. Mollet closed with the assurance that—thanks largely to his own government—France was in better shape now and getting better still every day. This remark was considered humorous by some, indecent by others.

THURSDAY: Gen. de Bollardière, in charge of an important operational sector in Algeria, a veteran of Narvik, El Alamein, Arnhem and the Ardennes, asked the Defense Minister to relieve him of his command. **Express** editor Servan-Schreiber, who had served under his orders in Algeria for six months and is now publishing his own terrifying tale of the Algerian war in his weekly paper, had asked the general whether he thought his articles were likely to affect army honor and morale. It was on this count that the Defense Ministry recently pressed charges against Servan-Schreiber.

Gen. de Bollardière, in a personal letter, replied that he felt it highly desirable that "after having lived our action and shared our efforts, you do your job as a journalist in stressing . . . the terrible danger there would be for us, under the fallacious pretext of immediate efficiency, to lose sight of the moral values that have, up to the present, made for the greatness of our civilization and of our army."

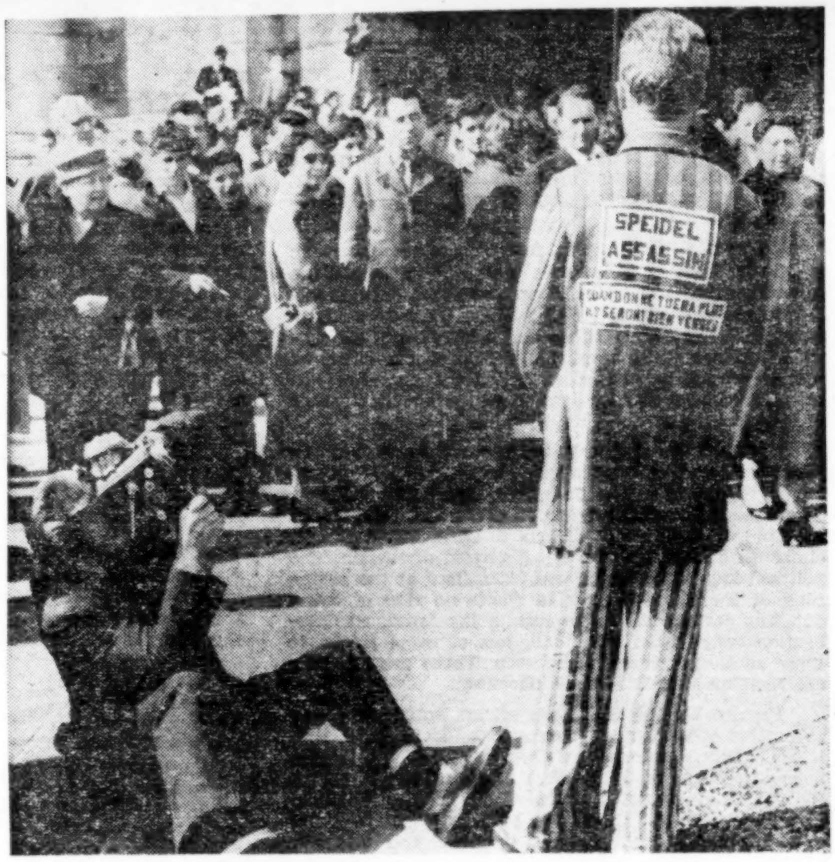
Meanwhile, the action against Servan-Schreiber went its course, even as similar charges were brought against the editor of the progressive Catholic publication **Temoignage Chretien**.

FRIDAY: After the House confidence vote, Mollet counted 221 votes for, 188 against his government—and 110 abstentions. The abstentions came chiefly from the right-wing Independent and Peasant parties. The vote wrote out in black and white a situation long acknowledged: Mollet's socialist government was henceforth at the mercy of the right. It would either carry out the right's policy on all essential points, or be overthrown whenever the right felt the time was convenient.

SATURDAY: Two meetings centered around the Arch of Triumph. In the morning, a silent crowd that included several prominent Deputies, lawyers and doctors, laid a wreath and uncounted small bouquets on the Tomb of the Unknown soldier in protest against the Speidel appointment. In the afternoon, a right-wing meeting ended with Fascist bands trying to storm the nearby **Express** offices, smashing shop windows, setting fire to cars and molesting bystanders.

That same afternoon, in a Lyon bursting with high dignitaries of the Republic come for the state funeral, ordinary citizens wept as they bade their Mayor goodbye for the last time. They knew that Reason, Dignity and Peace had been more than slogans to the man they buried. The funeral speech was made by Premier Mollet who had never agreed on much with Herriot, but least of all on German rearmament so eagerly promoted by his government.

Meanwhile, the war went on in Algeria. Young Claude Marty was still in prison. And Hitler's Gen. Speidel was getting ready to take over his new command at Fontainebleau.



IS NATO SHORT FOR WEHRMACHT?
At a demonstration in Paris against the appointment of ex-Nazi general Hans Speidel one man showed-up in a concentration camp uniform. The sign on his back says: "When there is no more killing [Nazi] victims will have been avenged."

HEARINGS TURN ON NAACP

Dixiecrat committee chairmen sit on civil rights proposals

EVERYBODY in Washington last week seemed in favor of civil rights legislation; the word was out that even some Deep Southerners were secretly for it but couldn't say so publicly because it would be political suicide. But with all this vast sentiment behind it, the Administration's timid four-point program was making no progress toward floor action in either house of Congress.

Southerners had the measure neatly bottled up in committee in both the Senate and the House and so far Northern liberals weren't pulling any corks.

House Rules Committee member Richard Bolling (D-Mo.), suspecting a "deal" between Republicans and Southern Democrats to block passage this year, said he would try to force consideration immediately after the Easter recess.

Original time-table called for floor action before the Easter recess which begins April 21. By last week it was generally conceded that this schedule can't be met and a showdown won't come until after the recess. By then other pressing legislation will have piled up, reducing the chances of wearing down a filibuster.

THE UN-HATCHED BILL: In the House, chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) of the Rules Committee has been sitting on the measure since March 18 when the House Judiciary Committee headed by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) approved it. Celler wrote Smith then asking early clearance to the floor, but Smith made no comment. (Last year it took two months to get a similar bill out of the Rules Committee.)

On April 2 Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) introduced a resolution in the House urging quick action by the Rules Committee. He said that if there is still "undue delay" he will start a move to force the bill out. This would require the signatures of 218 Representatives on a discharge petition, a lengthy process in itself.

CHARGE OF PERJURY: The Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, headed by Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.), approved the measure on March 19. It has been before the full Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), ever since. Hennings' efforts to force action at the committee's weekly Monday meetings have been balked by talkative Southerners.

On April 2, committee member John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) made a move for another long delay. Without identifying them, he announced that charges of perjury had been made against two witnesses who had appeared on behalf of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People in hearings on the bill. The NAACP promptly denounced the charges and said it would back all its witnesses, but McClellan demanded further hearings by the Judiciary Committee so the two could be questioned again. This could take weeks.

TRIAL-BY-JURY DODGE: On the same day, Sen. Matthew M. Neely (D-W.Va.) announced his belief that the committee would not permit the bill to come to a vote and said that if the Senate really wanted action, it would have to take the measure away from Eastland.

Meanwhile Dixie opponents of the measure had raised a battle-cry of their own: the right to trial by jury. They contended that protection of civil rights by Federal court injunction, as proposed in the bill, would destroy the "sacred right" to a jury trial. Sen. Hennings on March 24 set the record straight on this question, and pointed out that it would be a rare Southern jury that would convict in any case of denial of rights to Negroes.

But on March 27 Sen. Eastland, backed by Sens. Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) and Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) solemnly introduced a bill in the Senate designed, as Eastland put it, "to guarantee and secure the sacred right of a trial by jury to every citizen charged with criminal contempt in the Federal courts of the United States."

NEHRU'S PARTY JUST HOLDS OWN, CP GAINS, SP LOSES

What happened in India's elections

By Kumar Goshal

INDIA, with the second largest electorate in the world, (China has the largest), held her national elections last month. The results differed widely from the forecasts by political pundits abroad.

Premier Nehru's government has been following a policy of non-alignment with power blocs, of friendship with both East and West. It has obtained economic assistance from both the socialist and capitalist countries. Nehru's plan to build a socialist society in India by gradual, non-violent means has been praised by both Soviet and Chinese leaders. He received as cordial a welcome in the U. S. S. R. and China as Russia's Bulganin and Khrushchev and China's Chou En-lai got in India. It was generally believed, therefore, that Nehru's Congress Party would be overwhelmingly victorious in India's second national election since independence in 1947.

By the same token the Indian Communist Party was expected to lose badly—both because of Nehru's cordial relations with the socialist world and the confusion resulting from the revelations of the 20th Soviet CP Congress and the events in Poland and Hungary. The Indian Praja (People's) Socialist Party was expected to make sizeable gains.

THE RESULTS: But last week, with complete returns not yet in, it was evident that (1) the Congress Party barely held its own; (2) the CP gained strength; (3) the Socialists lost considerable ground.

Of the 193,000,000 eligible, over 50% voted—a remarkable turnout, because many had to travel long distances over primitive roads. Since the majority are illiterate, the voters were guided by symbols representing the 17 parties and innumerable independent candidates. The Congress symbol, for example, was a pair of oxen harnessed to a plough; the CP's a sheaf of wheat and a sickle.

At last report, the Congress Party had 365 seats in the 494-seat Lok Sabha (House of the People—India's Lower House of Parliament); the CP had 27 (against 17 before) and emerged as the largest opposition party, assured of the support of CP-backed independents; the Socialists had 19 (against 28 before).

42% FOR CONGRESS: With all its prestige, access to funds and the universal popularity of Nehru, the Congress Party—as in the 1952 elections—apparently failed to poll more than 42% of the votes. Many of its candidates forfeited their cash deposits—following the British pattern—because they failed to obtain the minimum number of votes required. Even some Cabinet members, like C. B. Gupta from Nehru's home town, lost.

The Congress Party entered candidates for all the seats in the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas (State Legislative Assemblies); the CP and Socialists, with far less resources, put up fewer candidates. The Socialists refused to cooperate with the CP in the lower house elections; they fared better in some of the state assemblies where they had agreements with the CP to put up joint slates or to refrain from entering rivals.

The CP for the first time is represented in all 13 state assemblies (results in the 14th state, Kashmir, were not yet available). In the Kerala state assembly they won 59 of the 126 seats, against 42 for the Congress Party. With the support of five independents, they had a majority and got the nod from the Governor to form the state administration. The Socialists had refused to cooperate with the CP in Kerala. They won 3 seats.

TAKE OVER IN MAY: On March 28 the first nationally-elected lower house dissolved after five years of tenure. The new parliament will be inaugurated in May. At that time an electoral college of the two houses of parliament and the elected members of all state assemblies will elect a President; a joint session of the two houses will elect a Vice President. President Rajendra Prasad and Vice President Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan are expected to be elected to a second term. Nehru, as the head of the majority party, was certain to remain as Prime Minister.

SOME OF THE 97 MILLION WHO VOTED IN INDIA'S ELECTION

The women travelled for miles to the polling booth where the attendant painted their index fingers with ink to indicate that they had registered.

Major reason for the Congress Party set-back was economic. Progress of the second five-year plan has been uneven. The closing of the Suez Canal delayed delivery of capital goods. Credit from abroad has failed to live up to expectations; in prospect was a $750,000,000 deficit in financing the second five-year plan. Above all, the Nehru government has been forced to spend over half the national income on defense to keep pace with the U.S.-aided arms build-up in Pakistan. "American policy of arming Pakistan," C. L. Sulzberger said (N. Y. **Times**, 4/3), has tended "to weaken disastrously the Indian economy."

A COMPARISON: Indians cannot help noticing that China is rapidly outdistancing them in economic development. A recent UN report showed that in 1956 China's national income rose more than 10% (to $41.1 billion), India's only 2% (to $22 billion). China ploughed back 22% of this income into expanding the industrial base, India 8%. China raised industrial production by 25%, India 8%.

The Socialists lost ground because they concentrated on criticizing Soviet and Chinese foreign policy instead of concerning themselves with issues closer to the life of the people. They also joined the West in attacking the energetic diplomatic activities of India's roving ambassador Krishna Menon as too pro-Soviet. Krishna Menon's popularity was indicated by his defeat of his Socialist rival in the election by 47,000 votes. On the other hand, Socialist leader Ashok Mehta was badly beaten in his home state of Bombay.

The CP, while making its share of mistakes, profited by maintaining its unity and its close ties with the ordinary people. The elections made it clear that the Congress Party and the CP would dominate the Indian political scene from here on out.

Playing with fire

(Continued from Page 1)

been straining at the leash, often proclaiming the armistice to be dead and predicting that unfication of Korea by force was near. His defense minister has been lobbying in Washington to equip Rhee's forces with atomic weapons. Rhee got support recently from Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman Adm. Radford and Michigan State University president Dr. John A. Hannah.

Radford, long an advocate of a "tough" Asian policy, told the National Security Council that South Korean forces should be equipped with new weapons, including jet aircraft, because of an alleged North Korean military buildup.

THE GENERAL DISSENTS: In a report on Korea, Japan, Formosa and the Philippines, Dr. Hannah, a former Asst. Secy. of State, repeated the charges of North Korean buildups and recommended that the U.S. ignore the Korean armistice ban on reequipping and modernizing Rhee's forces.

Cold water was poured on the two statements by Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor. Visiting South Korea after the Hannah report, Taylor was asked if the alleged buildup in the North endangered the forces in the South. He said: "No, I think UN forces [in S. Korea] are thoroughly equipped." (N. Y. **Times**, 3/22).

There was other evidence that Rhee was trying to stampede the U.S. into a reckless adventure in Korea. According to **I. F. Stones' Weekly** (4/1)), Rhee's Defense Minister last December told reporters in Washington that North Korea had trained five divisions in nuclear warfare in maneuvers near the armistice lines. Stone notes that, strangely enough, Hannah's report, released three months later, "makes no mention of so striking a violation [by North Korea]of the armistice agreement."

THE AMBITIOUS ONES: He also refers to a March 21 Senate foreign aid report on "The Military Assistance Program of the U.S." which reveals that "the U.S. is now spending—on the [South] Korean forces [and] economy—at a rate of more than a billion dollars a year." The report also states that some Asian allies of the U.S., "Syngman Rhee being an outstanding example, have sought to build or maintain much larger armed forces than the U. S. has thought necessary."

"The ambition of President Rhee . . . to reunify his country with American trained and equipped forces and the hopes of Generalissimo Chiang to return to the mainland," the report adds, "are examples of areas . . . in which [U.S.] allies become more likely to act on their own initiative as their military power increases."

THE MIDDLE EAST: As Washington and its allies played with fire in Asia, the situation in the Middle East remained potentially explosive. On April 6 an American tanker arrived at the Israeli port of Elath; the Israelis hailed it as a milestone in "the history of the Gulf of Aqaba as an international waterway" and the fulfillment of the U.S. pledge to establish the principle of "innocent passage" in the gulf.

Washington officials, however, were reported to be surprised at Israel's jubilation. The passage of the U.S. tanker, they said, was only a stage in establishing the principle; the real test would come when UN forces were withdrawn from the Sharm el Sheikh area overlooking the Strait of Tiran.

Meanwhile, negotiations continued between Egypt and the Suez Canal users—including the U.S.—and Cairo continued to indicate verbally that it would bar the canal to Israel-bound ships, although UN circles felt that the issue would ultimately go to the World Court. Israel seemed determined to force a test of her rights in the canal by sending a merchant ship under Israeli flag to apply for passage. The U.S. State Dept. was advised that Israel would act on President Eisenhower's Feb. 20 statement that it should not be assumed that Egypt would renew the blockade.

NO FINAL VICTORY: Last week Israel's Ambassador Abba Eban, in a statement clearly calculated to remind Washington of the President's assumptions, advised Under-Secy. of State Herter that renewal of canal blockade would tend to restore conditions in the Middle East that led to the Israeli invasion of Egypt last October. Eban's declaration was made in the face of Premier Ben Gurion's gloomy statement on April 2. He said then that in any attempt at a solution by force in the present circumstances, "we can never expect a final victory. Our victories are always followed by another round."

In Rome last week UN Under-Secy. Gen. Dr. Ralph Bunche, on his way home from four weeks conference in Egypt, said the Middle East situation was "still dangerous—but not hopeless. The UN is working very hard to ease the situation but a new outbreak of hostilities is still a possibility."

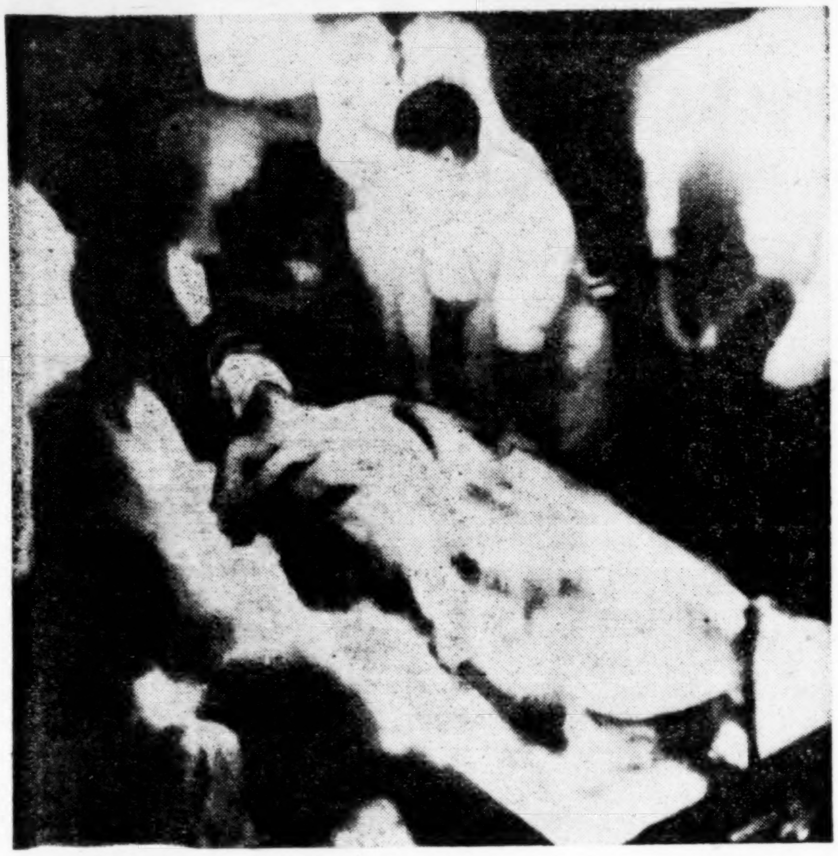
MODEST APPROACH: In the face of this situation, faint rays of hope shone paradoxically at the London disarmament conference. "Sentiment is growing here," **Christian Science Monitor** correspondent Henry Hayward reported (4/5), "that the present series of meetings will not culminate as a mere talk-fest with nothing concrete accomplished."

Hayward said that both sides at the conference seemed to have settled down to working out concrete though modest agreements rather than engaging in "spectacular but fruitless offers, such as graced last year's meetings . . . Western officials are convinced the Soviet Union is going through an extensive economic decentralization at home—and they don't regard that as a sign of warlike effort."

William J. Jorden's report from Moscow to the **Times** (4/7) seemed to support Hayward. Referring to Soviet announcement "of plans to undertake an extensive revision of its entire system of industrial management," Jorden found it "difficult to believe that such a sweeping change . . . would be launched if the Soviet leaders were really convinced that war was imminent."

HOW MOSCOW SEES IT: In Washington's military moves in Western Europe, the Middle East and South-East Asia, Jorden said, Soviet leaders undoubtedly "see a genuine threat to their security." However, in the vast changes now going on in the U.S.S.R., Jorden found "good reason to believe that the Soviet leaders are sincere in their desire to work out with the West plans for a reduction of armaments."

He said that "short of fear of all-out war with the U.S.," the one concern that dominated Soviet thinking today was the possible emergence of a remilitarized Germany. A solution of German reunification under conditions that would not threaten Soviet security, Jorden said, "would be a long step toward alleviating present tensions."



DUSTED

There was no war in his part of the world, but Japanese seaman Aikichi Kuboyama died a bomb victim. Doctors in Tokyo are shown performing an autopsy on his body which was dusted with radioactive material during the U. S. H-bomb tests at Bikini. His ship, Lucky Dragon, was unlucky enough to be at sea when the bomb went off.

BOOKS

Will it help the world to see?

ON THE MORNING of Aug. 6, 1945, the people of Hiroshima went about their life as usual. Although World War II was still going on, they paid little attention to the U.S. B-29 bomber called **Enola Gay** as it droned overhead. They were used to U. S. bombers flying over the city on missions elsewhere; no air-raid alert was sounded.

A few who happened to look up saw an object fall out through the plane's bomb-bay doors, followed by a parachute. This was the first atom bomb used in a war, sanctioned by President Truman to be used against Japan. At 8:15 a.m., 1,500 feet over the city, pre-set mechanism inside the casing split an atom of uranium-235.

The blue sky was instantly blanked out by "the incandescent white light of the monstrous fireball," Robert Trumbull writes in his eloquent and powerful book, **Nine Who Survived Hiroshima and Nagasaki.*** "The ball was 250 feet in diameter and a hundred times as bright as the sun, with a heat of 1,000,000 degrees Centigrade, the same as the sun's interior."

THE FLASH of light was followed by an indescribable roar of sound and a wave of concussion, which instantly leveled 6,820 buildings and badly damaged 3,750 more. Of the 64,000 officially listed as dying of the bombing, some 50,000 perished "in the terrible seconds when the sun seemed to burst." "The nearer were burned to a crisp, or simply vanished," Trumbull writes, "like the unknown man whose shadow, in a sitting posture, can be seen today etched into the concrete steps of the Sumitomo Bank Building."

Deadly rays spread a mile around the blast. A huge mushroom cloud made up of dust and debris sucked up by the fireball darkened the city. "As the dust blew away," a survivor recalled, "I saw what seemed to be thousands of tiny, flickering lamps all over the street and in the fields. They were little circles of flame, each about the size of a doughnut. Myriads of them were hanging on the leaves of the potato plants." Fire kindled by the heat rays raged all over the city.

Some survivors of the Hiroshima bombing hurriedly left for Nagasaki, which was atom-bombed three days later, on Aug. 9. Officials have listed at least 18 Japanese who survived the bombings of both cities. In his book, N. Y. **Times'** Tokyo correspondent Robert Trumbull has told the story of nine of the double survivors he interviewed.

Among them were men from all walks of life, from a leading newspaper publisher to a dockyard worker. Trumbull has told their story almost entirely in their own words, without embellishment. The impact on the reader is the greater because of the simple way they spoke of their experience, recalled with dispassionate horror more than a decade after the event.

Describing the injured in Hiroshima, they spoke of women whose "breasts were split open," some with "whole faces burned black, like masks with no eyes or mouths, others [with] only half a face," still others whose "skin on their arms was all peeled off and hanging down over their wrists like sagging gray half-sleeves." One of those interviewed said that, as he observed the wounded and the maimed wandering through the streets of Hiroshima after the bombing, he "thought of a ghost parade from hell."

Perhaps the most touching was the story of 26-year-old accountant Kenshi Hirata, whose bride of two weeks perished in the bombing. He undertook the pitiful journey to Nagasaki to return the few charred bones of his wife to her family. As he approached his wife's home, accompanied by his aged father, "that golden-colored ray whose memory was so vivid in my brains flashed in front of my eyes for the second time." He shouted to his father: "This is the very flash! Lie face downward!"

HIROSHIMA has become a memorial shrine, "the sentimental capital of all world peace movements, especially those centered around demands for the banning of nuclear weapons." Each Aug. 6 delegates from all over the world assemble here for a giant rally against nuclear weapons, surrounded by a "living reminder of the horror of atomic war."

Remembering this horror over ten years later, ship designer Yamaguchi, a double survivor, told Trumbull: "I am giving this account gladly, in the hope that it will help the world see that the atomic bomb should never be dropped again." But this was only a "Model T" bomb, and, aware of the far deadlier nuclear weapons developed since then, Yamaguchi added: "I firmly believe we should build in each heart a wall against war."

— **Kumar Goshal**

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* *NINE WHO SURVIVED HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI, By Robert Trumbull. 141 pp. plus index. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 300 Fourth Av., New York 10, N. Y. $2.95.*

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The Frightened Giant

A NEW BOOK

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

America was "home" to the GUARDIAN Editor-in-Exile for 30 of his 50 years until he was deported in 1955 after giving Joe McCarthy the back of his hand. It is still "home" to him nearly two years later, and apparently will always be. It is the home, also, of "the frightened giant"—U.S. officialdom—fearful of progress, fearful of the competition of ideas, but most of all fearful that getting along with the world might be "an incurable trait in the American people which could not be forever suppressed by hypocrisy and lies."

You are a hero of **The Frightened Giant**; the villains are those you love to lampoon; the author, one whose humor-dipped pen is indeed mightier than the sword. A goodly first round of GUARDIAN readers have already chuckled through **The Frightened Giant**; our second round of books is now ready for mailing out.

Here's what Aneurin Bevan's London **Tribune** had to say:

"As a kick in the pants for bumbling intolerance and pomposity the world over, it lands unerringly on the target."

And former M.P. Tom Driberg writes in **Reynolds News:**

"A vivid and horrifying account of an English journalist's long-drawn-out struggle against the American form of fascism."

(We found it vivid all right, not horrifying, nor do we thank friend Driberg for claiming Belfrage as an English journalist; but we do thank all, both sides of the water, for your friendly comments.—THE GUARDIAN)

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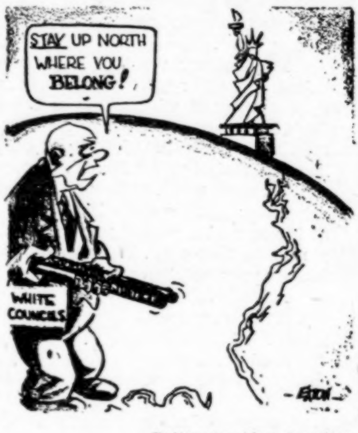
'A LAND BEYOND THE RIVER'

Clarendon County comes to life in new play

THE REV. JOSEPH A. DELAINE, now pastor of an African Methodist Episcopal church in Buffalo, N.Y., says that he and the people who were his parishioners and neighbors back in Clarendon County, S.C., wouldn't have minded at all if Loften Mitchell had used their names for the characters in his play, **A Land Beyond the River.** Title of the play is from a Negro spiritual: "There is a land beyond the River that we call the Sweet Forever."

In the playbill at the Greenwich Mews Theater, 141 W. 13th St., Manhattan, the Negro minister is called "The Reverend Mr. Layne." On the stage he is called "Reverend" or "Rev" or sometimes just Layne. In one scene county school superintendent John Cloud, knocking impatiently and then stalking into the house, says, "Layne, we want to talk with you," as though the bespectacled, thin brown man in the brown suit were his hired hand.

That scene—and so many others—strikes a note of reality: the time, the place and the people are right out of today's news. Clarendon County citizens and their New York relatives and friends in the audience on opening night saw how young Mitchell had depicted them at the start of their fight for integration. For it was they who originated the case which led to the U.S. Supreme Court desegregation decision of May 17, 1954. The White Citizens Council named Rev. Delaine as the "ringleader" and burned his church and had his schoolteacher wife dismissed. Numerous attempts were made to murder both. (New York friends, as a tribute to the play, have organized the Clarendon County Associates to raise money and collect food and clothing for Negroes there hit by the WCC boycott.)


STAY UP NORTH WHERE YOU BELONG!
WHITE COUNCILS

Baltimore Afro American

No place for her behind the Cotton Curtain.

THE ACCOUNT IS TRUE: The GUARDIAN has told about Delaine's order and the minister's shooting at the car occupants who fired on his home. He said he fired only to mark the car to help the police identify it. Pursued by armed gangs, he fled to New York, where his bishop, D. Ward Nichols, assumed personal responsibility for him. In South Carolina he was indicted for "assault with intent to kill" and the state demanded his extradition as a fugitive. Felony Court Judge Malbin on Jan. 16, 1956, dismissed the complaint.

Rev. Delaine told the opening night audience at the Greenwich Mews: "This play gives a true account of what happened in Clarendon County—what is happening now in other parts of the South."

Mitchell kept the audience chuckling or laughing aloud through much of this play. From the moment 8-year-old Willie Lee Waters and Glenn Raigen appear (wrestling and punching each other because Glenn said Willie Lee's Pa was "simple"), to Layne's going down the road to put a flower on his wife's grave, most of the audience—largely Negro that night—was obviously re-living personal experiences. The audience learns from the boys' earthy banter that they are looking for Rev. Layne, but are not eager to find him. The reason is clear when, in spite of themselves, they come upon the minister and this dialogue follows:

GLENN:	Mr. Layne! Reverend Layne!
LAYNE:	You, boy! You calling me?
GLENN:	Yes, sir. Been lookin' every which way for you!
LAYNE:	It's Wednesday, son. My afternoon to go in the hills and pray with Grandma Simms. [Looks at Willie Lee.] She's a might too old to get down to church Sundays, Of course, there are folks no place near 90 who don't get to church, either.
WILLIE LEE:	Pa wasn't feelin' so good last Sunday, Reverend.
LAYNE:	He's been sick a mess of Sundays, ain't he? [Then] What's on your mind, boys?
GLENN:	School floor done caved in.
LAYNE:	Well, I figured it was about time. Nothin's happened down there in two weeks.
GLENN:	Can't have no more school till it's fixed.
LAYNE:	We'll fix it tonight. [Willie Lee groans.] Won't be no vacation for you this time, boy. You boys get on home and tell your Daddies to meet me at the school house after supper—with their hammers and saws.

The men find the rotting floor beyond repair but discuss a petition for a new school. Their suit for school buses is pending. As a result of this, Rev. Layne says, "members of my church can't get bank loans." The bombs, fires and shootings which he predicts are not long in coming. His wife, long a sufferer from a heart ailment, falls dead when word comes that the Laynes' home has been burned. (Mrs. Delaine, of course, is very much alive.)

CHARM AND HUMOR: The audience was keen to the folk sayings and cynical in its laughter at the pompous pronouncements on "freedom" and "liberty" under the Constitution.

The New York critics acclaimed the play for its clarity and charm and its vigorous humor. All of these it has. Some thought it rough in spots. It was; but the 16 players in the cast delineate a significant aspect of the American Way of Life with such skill and devotion, under Michael Howard's direction, that the roughness is minor.

A Land Beyond the River plays Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday and Sunday evenings at 8:40, Saturday evenings at 8:15 and 10:45. There is a Sunday matinee at 3:45.

—Eugene Gordon

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Was science baffled? If you think so, you don't know your Uncle Vanya! Dr. Kolesov looked into the nutrition history of each couple, and found one more common characteristic: all were suffering from "a-vitaminosis C." Symptoms: bleeding gums, sore joints, lagging sex interests among other clinical tipoffs.

Soviet science recently determined that in animals male and female germ cells require plenty of vitamin C. So Dr. Kolesov put two and two together—no, not yet, we're getting ahead of our story.

Dr. Kolesov went to work on that "a-vitaminosis C" with injections, attar of rose-pips, etc., until all the subjects' systems were saturated with vitamin C (which is harmless in excess).

Now, to go on with our story: In due time after the treatments were completed, 55% of the couples were no longer childless; at which point Dr. K. apparently quit counting and prepared the report which we digest for you here today.

Attar of rose-pips is not bottled by Cott's, Pepsi or Coke as far as we know, but you can make it fairly simply if you have plenty of rose-pips. We once saw a recipe for it in Don West's farm paper but have mislaid the issue.

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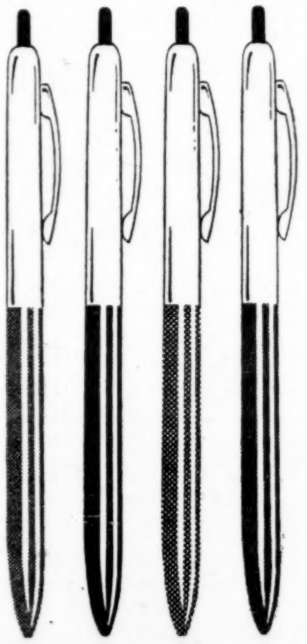

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the SPECTATOR

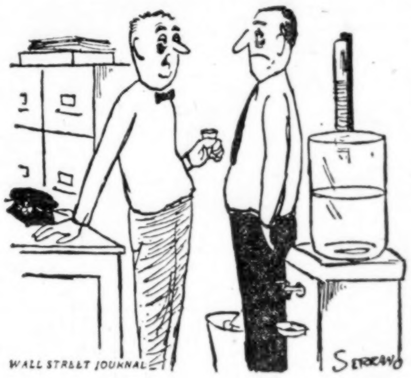
Oscar's Riches

A GOLD STATUETTE named Oscar lies alone and unclaimed in the offices of the Motion Picture Academy of Arts and Sciences in Hollywood. His legitimacy is questioned; his loyalty doubted.

Technically he belongs to "Robert Rich" as a prize for writing the script of the film, "The Brave One." But as yet author Rich has not come forward to claim his due. In fact, his identity and whereabouts are the biggest mystery in Hollywood since the Thin Man.

At the Oscar award presentation ceremony on March 27 a proxy from the Writers Guild accepted in Rich's behalf. He was called in because a man who said he was Rich had phoned the Academy to beg off: he had a sick wife in San Francisco.

The next day the affair took on its mystery aspect when reporters set out in search of interviews. There was no Robert Rich on the Writers Guild membership rolls. Then a man turned up answering to the name. He was a nephew of Frank King, producer of "The Brave One," and had worked for his uncle as a bookkeeper. Nephew Rich crumpled under questioning. He admitted posing as the writer but said he did it to get tickets to the ceremony. He disclaimed authorship of the script.



Wall Street Journal

"It's these brutal week ends, but I'll be okay after a week of work."

King himself added flavor to the stew. He described Rich as a small man with a goatee whom he had met in Munich in 1952. He was still in Europe, according to King: "Spain, Italy, I don't know, maybe Turkey."

But brother Morris King, also involved in producing the film, said: "I have been trying to reach Robert Rich, the writer, in Spain where he has gone to work on another picture."

IF RICH DIDN'T WANT the honors, others appeared willing. In Cambridge, Mass., a TV director described Rich as "a man of many identities." One identity he claimed for himself because, he said, he had written a story just like the prize-winner in 1951. Director Fred Zinnemann in Hollywood said "The Brave One" was "almost identical" with a story told him by the late film director Robert Flaherty in 1931. Flaherty's widow dated the story as 1928 and said it had been sold to Orson Welles for $12,000 in 1942.

King held for his goateed absentee. He said the film was based on a legend and that many writers had written their own versions.

A rumor, promptly denied, gained circulation which could go far to explain Oscar's orphaned condition. It was suggested that the script was the product of an under-the-table agreement with a blacklisted writer using the pen name, Robert Rich. Private bets were being made as to who in the legion of "unemployables" was Rich, in name, if not in pocket.

N. Y. **Post** columnist Murray Kempton leaned to Dalton Trumbo. In Hollywood Trumbo said: "I modestly refuse to confirm or deny. That way I can steal a little bit of credit from every good picture that's ever been made. People meet me on the street and say they'd know my touch anywhere. No one ever blames me for the bad ones. I think the reason why they think it's me is that it's such a clean movie. If there's no sex, people say, 'Nobody but Trumbo could have written it'."

SHOULD ROBERT RICH turn out to be a blacklisted writer, Oscar may remain forever homeless. Last month the Academy excluded from awards anyone who had not "cleared himself of Communist charges."

At the time the move was aimed at writer Michael Wilson who had been nominated for writing "Friendly Persuasion." Wilson had invoked the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee in 1951 and was promptly blacklisted. But old scripts of his—produced later—continued to plague the Academy by being nominated for Oscars. The ruling was made to settle Wilson once and for all.

The Writers Guild publicly criticized the Academy's action. They have a writing award of their own for which Wilson was nominated and chosen. At a dinner on March 7, celebrating the award, Groucho Marx took a swipe at the Academy and at William Wyler, producer of "Friendly Persuasion" for removing Wilson's name from the credits as an "uncleared Communist." Marx said: "Take for example 'The Ten Commandments'—original story by Moses . . . the producers had to take Moses' name from the script because they found out that he once had crossed the Red Sea."

TRUMBO HOISTED WILSON into the Rich mystery by nominating him as the phantom author of "The Brave One." Trumbo told the show business weekly **Variety** (4/3): 'Rich is Mike Wilson. He knew he wasn't going to get an Oscar for 'Friendly Persuasion'—which would have won hands down—so he wrote 'The Brave One" to have something to show for his year's work."

Trumbo said that he had been approached to write a play about the Rich story. It would be a farce, of course.

Meanwhile back at the Academy's offices, Oscar pondered his problem: Was it better to remain an orphan or have an illegitimate father?

—Robert E. Light